U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
JAMES J. DAVIS, Secretary
CHILDREN'S BUREAU
GRACE ABBOTT, Chief

THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU OF CLEVELAND

A STUDY OF THE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN CLEVELAND, OHIO

By

MARY MATHER LEETE

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, April 11, 1927.

SIR: There is transmitted herewith a report of an investigation of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland in relation to the care of dependent children in Cleveland, Ohio. Mary Mather Leete, of the social-service division of the United States Children's Bureau, was in charge of the investigation and has written the report.

Inasmuch as the Cleveland bureau has made the first attempt to handle as a unit the community problems of child dependency, it is believed that this study will be of general interest to child-placing agencies and institutions.

The helpful cooperation of Lawrence C. Cole, executive secretary of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, during the progress of the investigation and the preparation of the report is gratefully acknowledged.

Respectfully submitted.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chief.*

HON. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

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THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU OF CLEVELAND

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

A few years ago the popular conception that orphanages and children's homes were filled with orphans was proved to be no longer a fact but a sentimental theory. The public on recovering from this unhappy surprise raised the question: If we have not orphans, what have we in our hundreds of institutions for dependent children? The answer to this question comes slowly, owing to the lack of adequate institutional records; but a few studies made of the family histories of children in institutions furnish convincing proof that most of the children have one or both parents living. The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor has been able to ascertain the family status of certain groups of dependent children in nine States. In a total of 19,879 children 5 per cent were reported as full orphans, 30 per cent as half orphans, and 65 per cent as having both parents living.[1]

In a study made in 1923 of the children in four institutions for dependent children in a Middle-Western State it was found that only 7 of the 212 children studied were known to be full orphans, 68 were half orphans, and the remainder represented various types of broken families.[2] In 1920 a survey was made in Cleveland, Ohio, of 5,035 children who were or who had been in 14 orphanages, and the result showed that only 8 per cent were full orphans, 43 per cent were half orphans, and 49 per cent had both parents living. In one State in 1923 there were 1,690 children on State support in the 37 orphanages that receive public wards. Of this number 4 per cent were full orphans, 29 per cent were half orphans, and nearly 67 per cent were believed to have both parents living.[3]

Such investigations as these gradually have revealed the fact that a large percentage of institutional children have both parents living. Consequently there has been growing in communities an increased interest in knowing as accurately as possible what the family circumstances are that make it necessary for parents to place the responsibility for the care of their children upon the community and that deprive the children of their own homes. When the quest for real

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[1] Figures compiled by the U. S. Children's Bureau from data furnished by children's aid societies, State boards, and State schools for dependent children.

[2] Queen, Stuart A.: "Are orphan asylums necessary?" The Journal of Social Forces [Chapel Hill, N. C.], Vol. II, No. 3 (March, 1924), pp. 384–388.

[3] Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of State Charities of Indiana for the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1923, p. 121. Indianapolis, 1924.

causes of dependency of children in institutions led to the institutional records it was soon discovered that many institutions were not able to contribute to a study of causes for commitment because they made almost no investigation of the families who sought to place children in their care, and furthermore they kept very little record of such information as might have been volunteered when the child was committed.

The department of welfare in a large Eastern State recently issued a report on the results of a study of the standards maintained by the 240 institutions in the State for care of dependent children. The study disclosed the fact that 76 institutions accepted the child on the word of the applicant with practically no investigation of the situation, 78 made their own investigations more or less carefully, and 86 had their investigation made through a cooperating society. To a large extent this is the situation to-day in many States as regards the investigation of applicants for the care of children in institutions.

In 1923 there were in the United States 218,523 children in the care of institutions and child-placing societies mainly for the care of dependents. Of these children 140,312 (64 per cent) were in the 1,558 institutions and receiving homes then established primarily for the care of dependents.[4] If these institutions were asked to give the causes of the dependency of children in their care based on the records that they have of family history it is doubtful whether more than one-third would be able to furnish accurate information.

Therefore it is still far from clear why so large a percentage of children with one or both parents should be receiving care in institutions rather than their own homes. Some communities have thought of a central bureau which should be responsible for a social inquiry into every application for community care of a child. The primary purpose of such a bureau is adequate investigation of all applications for care of children and recommendation as to the care needed. This method of solving some of the problems of dependency and providing better care for children is now in use by several groups of institutions and agencies. The Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, the Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants of New York, and the Jewish Children's Clearing Bureau of New York all act as clearing bureaus for institutions and agencies; but their field is limited by the fact that they are interested only in the children of a particular religious faith and also by the fact that they do not get cooperation from all institutions logically coming within their jurisdiction. The Colorado Children's Aid Society of Denver and the Children's Service Bureau of Pittsburgh likewise include in their service to the community a clearing bureau for certain institutions, but here again the field is limited because not all the institutions of the community are included, and placing also forms a part of the work of the bureau.

Other organizations, believing in the value of centralized investigation, have established central bureaus endeavoring to cooperate with all child-caring institutions and agencies and thus seeking to coordinate and evaluate the work being done by all for the welfare of children.

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[4] Children under Institutional Care, 1923, p. 18. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington, 1927.

However, clearing-bureau service represents a new movement in work for the care of children, and it is yet too early to look for the results which this new form of cooperation in children's work will bring about. There is perhaps only one city where the central clearing bureau has been established with the cooperation of all institutions except two Jewish ones (see p. 13) and with a well-defined policy of service, which is investigation of all applications for institutional care of children and recommendation as to the particular needs of each child for whom application had been made. This city is Cleveland, Ohio; and through its children's bureau Cleveland is undertaking community-wide planning for the care of dependent children.

The following study of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, Ohio, was undertaken by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor to ascertain the administrative methods in use in that city at present in meeting the problem of the admission of dependent children to institutions. The study was particularly concerned with dependency of children as it is related to the need for their separation from their own families and their care by an institution or placing agency in the community. The first section of the report of the findings of the study consists of a description of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland and its relation to other child-welfare agencies of the city. Further knowledge of adequate methods for the investigation of admissions to institutions for dependent children is so generally sought at the present time by institutions, both individually and by groups, that it seemed of value to set forth in detail the organization and functions of this bureau. The second section of the report offers a statistical interpretation of the dependency problem based upon 1,416 family records in the files of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland. An examination of these records to determine something of the underlying causes of dependency, as shown by thorough investigation, was important in order to indicate just what the problems are that a community must face in planning for the care of its dependent children. This bureau offered an unusual opportunity to make such a study because of its position as the central bureau of investigation for all Catholic, Protestant, and nonsectarian institutions—in fact all institutions for care of dependent children in Cleveland, Ohio, except the two for Jewish children. There are 22 institutions represented with an approximate capacity of 1,570 children (see p. 13). The third section of the report contains a description of the child-caring agencies in the city that cooperate with the Children's Bureau of Cleveland.

At the time this study was undertaken (April, 1925) the Children's Bureau of Cleveland had been functioning for a period of four years, which was considered a sufficient length of time to indicate the general trend of the work being done.

THE CHARACTER OF CLEVELAND AS A COMMUNITY

Cleveland is the fifth largest city in the United States and in 1920 had a population of 796,841. There was an increase of 42.1 per cent in the population from 1910 to 1920. Of the total population 239,538 were foreign born; 212,247 were native white of native parentage;

and 310,241 were native born with one or both parents foreign born (there were 246,529 with both parents foreign born and 63,712 with one parent foreign born).[5]

A large element of the foreign born in any city is an important factor in the general character of that city. In Cleveland, where the percentage of foreign-born population is unusually high (30 per cent of the total population) it is desirable to know something of the characteristics of these people; and especially is this true when questions of community child welfare are being considered. Their background, their motives for immigrating to this country, and their adjustment to the conditions of their adopted country are of vital importance in considering the care of their children. The principal countries represented by the foreign-born population of Cleveland are Poland, with 35,024 natives in the city; Hungary, with 29,724; Germany, with 26,476; Czechoslovakia, with 23,907; Russia, with 21,502; Italy, with 18,288; Yugoslavia, with 15,898; and Austria, with 15,228.[6] Besides the foreign-born population there were 34,451 negroes (more than 4 per cent of the total population),[7] many of whom came to Cleveland from the Southern States during the war. The presence of the negroes, most of whom had come from agricultural districts, in a large industrial city has created many problems relating to housing, education, and not least to the care of their dependent children.

In the public schools of the city only 35 per cent of the total number of pupils were reported in 1922 to be the children of native white fathers. Five per cent of the pupils were negroes and the remaining 60 per cent were the children of foreign-born parents. In only 55 of the 97 elementary schools were the greater number of pupils of native white parentage. Similarly the pupils of native white parentage predominated in only 10 of the 16 junior high schools and in 8 of the 10 senior high schools. Russian, Hungarian, and Italian children, respectively, predominated in eight of the elementary schools, Polish predominated in six, Czechoslovakian in four, Yugoslavic in two, Austrian in two, and Rumanian in one. The pupils in three elementary schools were mainly negroes.[8]

Cleveland's large cosmopolitan population is due to the fact that it is one of the most important manufacturing cities in the United States. The chief industries center in the steel mills, the clothing, automobile, and paint and varnish factories, and the stockyards. Cleveland's trade extends around the world. Fifty-three per cent of the workmen in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, which represent the largest part of the entire industrial field in Cleveland, are foreign born.[9]

The iron and steel industries furnish work for the greatest number of unskilled workers in any industry in Cleveland, and these workers are mostly foreign born. The wages of unskilled workers do not allow for a great margin of saving, and therefore when there is an

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[5] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. II, Population, pp. 47, 48; Vol. III, Population, p. 784. Washington, 1922.
[6] Ibid., Vol. III, Population, pp. 794–796. Washington, 1922.
[7] Ibid., p. 784.
[8] A Census of Nationalities Represented in the Cleveland Public Schools, pp. 4, 9. Cleveland Board of Education, November, 1922.
[9] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. IV, Population, Occupations, p. 1084. Washington, 1923.

industrial depression—such as took place in the steel industry, beginning in 1920 and lasting over a period of years—the care of the children of these foreign workers becomes a serious problem for the community. In 1922, the third year of the industrial depression, 200 parents with children being cared for by the Cleveland Humane Society were unable to continue the support of their children because of unemployment. This made necessary an additional appropriation from the community chest of $24,000 to this society in order that the deficit thus created might be met.

The civic spirit of Cleveland is quite unusual, and for a city of its size it has a remarkable unity of interests. A sense of cooperation has pervaded the entire structure of its social service. Cleveland has been a city of surveys because of the eagerness to establish better conditions; and in the whole field of social service this city ranks among the first in its achievements.

CLEVELAND AGENCIES INTERESTED IN THE WELFARE OF CHILDREN

The Children's Bureau of Cleveland is but one unit in the whole plan for community care of dependent children in the city, and the nature of other agencies in Cleveland should be considered in order to understand the interrelation of the various phases of child care. With the organization of this central bureau it became increasingly evident that an investigation of the applications for admission and the discharge of children would furnish an index of the entire problem of child dependency in the community and would involve not alone the institutions but every organization whose work touched on the care of dependent children. The principal agencies interested in the dependent child were at that time the institutions, the humane society (which acted as a protective association as well as a placing agency), the associated charities (which is the chief family agency in Cleveland), and the juvenile court. In March, 1921, a program for these various agencies was outlined to indicate what the primary functions of each agency should be, and this program was approved by them in a community-wide plan for child welfare. This was carefully worked out before the Children's Bureau of Cleveland actually began operation in April, 1921. The functions of the child-caring and family agencies as outlined and approved by the agencies in Cleveland interested in child welfare were as follows:

I. Children's bureau:
   1. Investigation of cases of dependent children where neglect is not present and guardianship is not involved and there is no definite reason for depriving parent or near relative of custody of child, with the exception of humane-society cases.
   2. Investigation of applicants for admission to children's institutions either for temporary or for continued care (*a*) from the family, (*b*) from other agencies.
   3. After admission, supervision through the bureau or by the definite assignment of responsibility to another agency, with a periodic bureau check up.
   4. Investigation and planning for receiving-home inmates before admission; children to be admitted without a study and plan only in extreme emergencies.
   5. Conferences on children's problems and cases.

II. Institutions, including Catholic charities, Cleveland Protestant Orphan Asylum, etc.:
   1. To provide temporary care for dependent children pending the formation of a plan.
   2. To provide temporary care pending placement in boarding, free, or adoptive homes.
   3. To prepare children, through discipline, medical care, etc., for placement in normal homes.
   4. To train children in proper habits and build character in the character-building period.
   5. Every child in institutions only as a result of a constructive plan and with full knowledge on the part of the institution of that plan and the part for which they accept responsibility.

III. Humane society:
   1. Should be the county-wide agency primarily responsible for all placing and supervision of children in free, boarding, and adoptive homes from all local agencies including children's bureau, Catholic charities, juvenile court, family agencies, and all institutions not having their own service.
   2. Should be responsible for all social service needed because of the illegitimacy problem.
   3. Should furnish legal advice and counsel on guardianship and on extradition proceedings pending the establishment of family court.

IV. Family agencies, including the associated charities, mothers' pensions department of the juvenile court, Hebrew Relief Association, Red Cross, and outdoor relief.
   1. Should be primarily responsible for family rehabilitation and treatment.
   2. Should provide care where, through adequate relief, the family for its best interest can be held together.
   3. Should report directly to court situations requiring court action.
   4. Should provide when necessary for families under their care temporary care through relatives and other family resources.
   5. Should advise with humane society on all boarding and placement needs other than with relatives and family resources.
   6. Should advise with children's bureau on all dependent children needing institutional care.

V. Juvenile court:
   1. Responsibility for investigation and prosecution of all complaints of neglect, nonsupport, and delinquency involving children either unofficial or official and for subsequent supervision or probation of children.
   2. The investigation and treatment of cases of neglected children requiring constructive supervision when there is no need for official court action existing.
   3. Handling and reviewing of cases of dependent children involving custody where proper parental care is lacking.
   4. Investigation and treatment of all cases of juvenile runaway out-of-town girls.
   5. Investigation and advising with prosecutor's office on cases of rape, crimes against children, or others of criminal prosecution in which juveniles are involved.
   6. Should early establish a bureau of medical and mental psychiatric work.

VI. Detention home:
   1. To provide temporary care for delinquent children and juvenile witnesses in criminal cases.
   2. To provide mental and physical examination of delinquents.
   3. To study behavior and problem cases of delinquents.

VII. Institutional care for crippled children.[10]

The problem of the crippled child is primarily a problem of child welfare, and every child so handicapped should be treated as far as possible like a normal child.
   1. Every crippled child should receive adequate medical care and be restored as far as possible to normal health.
   2. Every crippled child needs all the academic training he is capable of assimilating with such manual training as may help to prepare him for later intensive vocational training.

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[10] This general plan was accepted in 1923 by the various agencies concerned.

3. Every crippled child has the same right to care in his own home if it is at all possible and should be placed only when home conditions can not be improved to provide proper care.
4. If his own home has failed just as for the normal child, every effort should be made to place him in another home, free, boarding, or adoptive, where he can receive the specialized care necessary.
5. Only after home care is not possible should the child be placed in an institution and even then with the ultimate plan of returning him to normal family life as soon as he is prepared mentally, physically, and morally.
6. As far as possible all children, hospital and institutional, from outside communities should be supported by public funds through the specialized resources of the State for cripples.

THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU OF CLEVELAND AND ITS RELATION TO OTHER CHILD-WELFARE AGENCIES

ORIGIN OF THE BUREAU

Before the organization of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland the question of the facilities for care of Cleveland's dependent and neglected children was discussed for some years by the boards of the various institutions and agencies. The institutions were crowded, and it became increasingly difficult to place children in need of immediate care. As early as 1917 the congestion of the institutions made it almost impossible to secure the admission of children urgently in need of care. This was especially felt by other child-caring agencies in the community. The juvenile court often found it impossible to have dependent children admitted to institutions and was compelled at times to send them back to improper home conditions. This congestion was brought to the attention of the community very acutely during the influenza epidemic in 1918, when both the hospitals and the institutions for children proved inadequate to handle the needs of those in distress; and in the case of the children's institutions this resolved itself into a demand for the erection of more institutions or a study of the community's methods of caring for dependent children.

Fortunately the trend of events in Cleveland at this time made possible a survey of child-caring methods in the community rather than the erection of more institutions. Under the direction of the Hospital Council, with the cooperation of the Welfare Federation, a survey of all hospitals and agencies promoting public health had been arranged and was in progress toward the close of 1919. As part of this study it was planned to inquire into the medical care given by the child-caring agencies and institutions, the health status of the children in their care, and the facilities afforded in the community which could be used at times of serious illness. The State department of industrial relations in Ohio is required to cause to be inspected certain classes of public buildings, including children's homes, hospitals, medical institutions, and asylums, with special reference to fire precautions and such other matters as relate to the health and safety of the occupants. One of the chief responsibilities of the division of charities of the State department of public welfare is the annual inspection and licensing of institutions caring for children. The department is also authorized to inspect the foster homes in which children are placed by agencies. (See p. 83.) By combining these two inspections with the medical survey it seemed possible to gain a better knowledge of each institution and to obviate the necessity of the State inspection later in the year.[11]

[11] The description given here is summarized from mimeographed and typewritten reports, especially A Community Study of Child Care (report of the survey of children's agencies in Cleveland by the Welfare Federation of Cleveland, May, 1921) and annual reports of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland for the years 1922 to 1924.

In the fall of 1918 the Children's Conference, an organization composed of representatives from the board and staff of each child-caring agency in the community, had been formed for the purpose of discussing problems of child care. The question of taking advantage of the medical survey to undertake at the same time a comprehensive study of the other aspects of care for dependent and delinquent children by all child-caring institutions and agencies was brought before the Children's Conference by the Welfare Federation of Cleveland.[12] The plans as outlined by the federation were discussed, and the Children's Conference voted approval and agreed to give complete cooperation.

The survey was to take the form of a critical self-examination and was to be made primarily to assist the institutions and agencies studied; secondarily, to help in the formulation of a program which in the light of present-day experience and improved methods could be used as a chart to guide Cleveland's future plans for child welfare. All data concerning an individual institution or agency and the particular recommendations for this agency were to be regarded as confidential and given only to the superintendent and board of the agency. Only information relating to all the institutions in general and the main recommendations affecting the entire group were made a matter of public knowledge and discussion, sensational publicity being carefully avoided. In January, 1920, the study was begun under the direction of Henry W. Thurston, director, child-welfare department, New York School of Social Work; Joel D. Hunter, superintendent, United Charities of Chicago, formerly chief probation officer, juvenile court of Chicago; W. S. Reynolds, superintendent, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society; and Mrs. Margaret Lyman, supervisor, family division, Chicago juvenile court, as chief of field workers.

The organizations to be included in the survey were the 22 institutions caring for dependent, neglected, delinquent, and crippled children;[13] the Cleveland Humane Society, which is the chief child-placing agency in Cleveland; and the juvenile court, including the detention home and the mothers' pensions department. The attendance department in the public schools and the work of the boys' school which is a part of that department also were studied at this time under the direction of Lucia B. Johnson, of the Ohio Institute for Public Efficiency. Information about each of the agencies and institutions studied covered the following: Incorporation, objects, and legal powers; plan of organization and of administration of both directorate and staff; sanitary survey of each plant, including medical facilities and procedure; intake methods and care of children within the institution; methods of outgo and discharge; statistics. Some special studies were made in addition

[12] The Welfare Federation of Cleveland is a voluntary working alliance of the civic and social agencies of Cleveland for their mutual strength, economy, and efficiency, and for a unified attack on the causes of social distress. It endeavors to promote the social welfare of the entire city and to foster the wholesome development of its human resources. The work of the federation falls into two general divisions: 1. Budget planning and finance; 2. Social planning, research, and education. It was as an agency for social research and education that the federation sponsored the children's survey in 1920 and carried out the recommendations of the survey staff to establish an investigation bureau, which is now known as the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, Ohio.

[13] For the two Jewish institutions the study was confined to the health of the children and the care received in the institution.

to the information secured through inspection, consultation of records, and interviews with persons connected with the organizations studied. These included a medical examination of 15 per cent of the current population in the institutions; a mental examination of the same children; and a field investigation of the economic and social situation of the families of some of the same children to compare with the records kept by the institution or agency.

After the survey was completed a report was prepared for each of the organizations studied. This was considered confidential and was reserved for the use of the respective executives and boards of directors. If possible, these reports were reviewed with the executives in charge of the respective institutions so that any misstatement might be corrected at once. A summary of the main facts revealed by the study was prepared for the welfare federation, and this was of the greatest advantage in planning for a new program of community child welfare.

The sanitary study of institutions showed that in addition to defects pertaining to fire precautions and such matters there existed overcrowding, insufficient ventilation, and insanitary use of toilet articles and drinking cups. The medical survey, which covered 19 institutions, showed that only 3 of the institutions gave adequate physical examinations to children upon entrance, and that only 3 maintained an admission quarantine. None of the institutions studied had periodic physical examinations for the children in their care. The medical examination of about 15 per cent of the current population of the institutions indicated that all except 14 of the 371 children examined had one physical defect or more. This study indicated very clearly the urgent need for a higher standard of medical examination on admission and for periodic reexamination with careful records of all medical treatment. The mental examination covered 324 children and showed that 70 of these (more than 21 per cent) were so far retarded that the advice of an expert on mental problems was desirable as a basis for care and treatment. These children were not all feeble-minded, but their mental state clearly indicated that the institutions caring for dependent children frequently needed psychiatric service. It was estimated from the children examined that at least 400 children under institutional care required special care and study.

The charter powers of some of the institutions were found to be so specific as to be inelastic, and others were liberal enough to authorize a great variety of forms of institutional and other care should the needs of the children of the city or county so require.

The methods of admission of the institutions and agencies were learned through comparison of what the records of these organizations gave about the social and economic status of the family and relatives with what members of the survey staff learned from further field investigation. This comparison showed the following to be true: Many of the records of the 19 institutions as to the economic and social status of the children's families or relatives were so inadequate that no intelligent decision could be made as to the children's need for institutional care. Records were not always accurate in the matter of a child's legal residence; that is, it was not clear whether certain boys and girls in Cleveland institutions should be the respon-

sibility of Cleveland or of some other community. Records of institutions did not always show whether parents or relatives were paying all they could for the support of children receiving institutional care. Often the executives knew more than their records showed in regard to children admitted, but the data in the records together with this additional information seldom were sufficient as a basis of action for the admission of a child.

The following difficulties appeared to be characteristic of all the institutions: Baffling medical problems connected with the care of infants; confusion over responsibility for children from outside the city; inadequate investigation of family situations; insufficient pay by parents and relatives who could afford to pay; admission of children who should not have been accepted; and the keeping of some children a longer time than the family situation justified.

That the institutions should be in possession of fuller and more accurate data about the families from which they take children was shown clearly by the results of an investigation of 5,035 children in 14 orphanages selected to represent as fairly as possible the total number cared for during a period of five years (1915–1919). It was found that 4,604 (91 per cent) of the so-called orphans in these 14 orphanages had at least one parent living. Moreover 66 per cent of the 2,502 children discharged within the five years 1915–1919 went back to parents or relatives. The annual turnover of population in the 10 most distinctively specialized orphan asylums varied from 23 per cent to 232 per cent. This indicated that the average stay per child in one orphanage was more than four years and in another less than six months; that is, one institution would care in a given time for eight times as many children as would the other institution taking the same kind of children.

What bearing the institutional turnover had on the need for greater facilities for care for dependent children in the community could not be determined without more complete knowledge of the policies and the results achieved by the institutions, their capacity, and the number of children waiting for admission. But the solution of this whole problem rests ultimately upon the standardization of methods of admission in all institutions. Only by careful investigation of each application for the admission of a child to an institution would it be possible to ascertain whether the facilities for care of the dependent children of the community were adequate for handling the particular needs of those children.

The survey brought out very forcibly the fact that a higher standard of investigation of all available facts in abnormal situations that are forcing children out of their own homes is a fundamental necessity before institutions or agencies attempt to determine the best course of treatment for each family concerned. At the conclusion of the survey the attention of the institutions and agencies that had cooperated in the study was called to the following needs: (1) The correction of all defects of plant and sanitation; (2) the perfection of facilities and methods for adequate initial physical and mental examinations of children, followed by whatever treatment and periodic reexaminations are necessary, together with adequate records; (3) provision for such expert help in detecting and caring for those mentally retarded children who are now under care or

may hereafter be admitted; (4) such further and progressive attention to the care of children within institutions as has been suggested in reports to individual agencies and as outside progress in child care and education makes increasingly possible (for example, in respect to work, play, chances for individuality and education, contact with outside children, discipline, moral and civic training, and religious education); (5) the care of many more children in family boarding homes with regard to the saving of relationship between children of the same family and with relatives wherever these ties are or may be made assets for true affection, character, and citizenship; (6) more attention to the care of negro children.

The investigation disclosed the following needs in the community: A common investigation bureau; a temporary shelter where medical care and other temporary service could be given to children while plans were being made for their care; and certain changes in judicial procedure and changes in administration in connection with the juvenile court.

For some institutions the amount of investigation and reinvestigation required is not sufficient to warrant engaging the full-time services of a highly trained person for this work; yet for the individual cases to be handled these institutions need as full and accurate information as do those that employ trained field investigators to gather and supplement facts for use of their admission committees. To remedy this situation and to make the required information available the survey staff suggested that a bureau of investigation be organized, to be financed by the Cleveland Welfare Federation and conducted by a committee on which each of the organizations concerned should be represented.

The survey staff in recommending the establishment of a bureau of investigation outlined as follows the scope of service which such a bureau should render: (1) To provide thorough investigation of each application for admission to a child-caring institution and to see that adequate facilities for medical and mental examinations are afforded to each child before admission; (2) to furnish full and complete information concerning each child or family which seeks the help of the respective child-caring institutions (this information should go to the admission committees of institutions through personal presentation by the staff of the investigating bureau and through written reports for the files of the respective organizations); (3) to keep in touch with all families from which children have been admitted to institutions and to present information from time to time of the changed status of the families (both when application is made for the removal of a child from the institution by the family and for those children who are allowed to remain indefinitely in the institution); (4) to supervise children who have not been accepted for institutional care but in whose homes there is some problem situation requiring supervision but as yet no need of court authority; (5) to transfer to the juvenile court the care of all families where there is need of court authority; (6) to conduct under the direction of the executive secretary of the bureau regular case conferences in problem cases, members of the case conference to be composed of representatives from all organizations cooperating in the use of the bureau.

It was understood that in order to prevent any hardships, the institutions were to admit children in emergencies, but investigation of such cases was to be made by the bureau before a permanent plan for such children was formulated.

INSTITUTIONS COOPERATING WITH THE BUREAU

The establishment of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland in April, 1921, came as a direct result of the survey of facilities for the care of children made in that city the preceding year. The bureau is supported by the Cleveland Community Fund and is a member of the Cleveland Welfare Federation. As has already been noted, its principal function is to serve as a central bureau for the investigation of families asking the admission of their children to the institutions established in Cleveland, and therefore the nature of the institutions cooperating in the work of the central bureau is of interest.

Cleveland has a total of 24 institutions for the care of delinquent children, which represent a capacity of 2,065. Two of these are for Jewish children and have a capacity of 495 children; the admissions to these institutions are not under the direction of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland and were not included in this study. Five of the 22 institutions covered by the study take only Cleveland children, and two others cover an area of five States for children of a particular religious denomination needing institutional care. Most of the others take children from all northern Ohio. All institutions but three are denominational in concept but do not limit the admission of children to those whose parents or relatives belong to the same denomination. Three of the institutions are for children needing special physical care—two take crippled children for convalescent care and training, and one provides all-year preventorium care for weak, anemic, malnourished, and convalescent children 6 to 12 years of age. Another institution formerly caring for dependent children has been developed into a center for diagnostic service since the organization of the central children's bureau. (See p. 32.) One institution gave preference to Polish children[14] and one to Ukrainian children,[15] but otherwise no distinction was made by the institutions as to nationality of children admitted.

Fourteen institutions provided care for both boys and girls, six took only girls, and two took only boys. Three institutions were for children 14 or over, two being training homes for young girls with difficult behavior problems and one a boarding home for working boys. All Cleveland institutions were of the congregate plan, although two were building cottages and one was building a new semicongregate building. Institutions were licensed by the State division of charities which, as has been stated (p. 8), also had the right to place children in foster homes. All except four of the institutions were members of the Cleveland Welfare Federation, but equal service was furnished by the bureau for all whether or not members of the federation, and the endeavor was also made to work out a community program regardless of financial support.

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[14] This was operating without the State license required by law.

[15] Since 1925 one of these institutions has been closed. Two other orphanages for foreign children had been closed previously (in 1922 and 1923).

The Children's Bureau of Cleveland was to act as the investigating agency for those children only who were seeking admission from Cuyahoga County (where Cleveland is situated). It was understood that applications for admission of children residing outside this county would be handled by the individual institutions; but more and more assistance with reference to outside applicants is being asked of the bureau as its work has developed, and this is being granted as far as the time of the staff permits. Cooperation of the institutions from the start was such as to make the work of the bureau comprehensive and of real value in meeting the needs of dependent children. Since one of the urgent needs of the community had seemed to be greater institutional facilities for the care of dependent children a great part of the effort of the bureau's first year consisted of the investigation of children who already had been in an institution more than a year.

The bureau has also tried to establish relations with State, denominational, and fraternal institutions outside Cleveland so that they might employ the bureau's services in the investigation of children from Cleveland whose application for admission was under consideration. The bureau has always endeavored to secure care in Cleveland institutions for these children if their residence was Cleveland and if conditions indicated a real necessity for placing in order that they might be near family or relatives. It has sought earnestly to have Cleveland institutions carry their full responsibility for Cleveland children, as it has also sought—by not accepting outside children for care in Cleveland—to leave to other communities their responsibility. In the first year emphasis therefore was placed on relieving the institutions of as many children as possible in order to meet the apparent need at that time of institutional care for children in the community who were awaiting admission. Aside from very careful investigation of all new applications for admission, which made it possible to refer many families to other agencies than institutions for the care of children, the bureau undertook to work out for each child then in an institution a constructive plan in anticipation of returning him to his own family or placing him in a foster home. The Catholic Charities Bureau, which is the central organization for all Catholic agencies, provided the Children's Bureau of Cleveland with a list of all children in Catholic institutions who had been under care more than two years, requesting that they be studied and planned for. Other institutions asked for the investigation of children who had been in the institution for some years. The result was that in the first year of the bureau's existence 40 more children were discharged from institutions than were admitted (494 discharged and 454 admitted). As many of the older children who had grown up in institutions had become useful to those institutions it was sometimes difficult to carry out a plan for the children's welfare that took them away from the orphanages. The following is an illustration:

One 14-year-old girl had been placed in an institution as a very small child. The Children's Bureau of Cleveland made a careful search for some trace of her family and finally decided to advertise for her people. After a time a response came from the mother, who lived only a short distance from Cleveland. The mother's home was investigated and proved to be entirely satisfactory, with the added charm that the mother was unusually happy to find her

daughter and to have her at home. Some difficulty arose when the institution found that the child's people had been located and that a good home awaited her. She was so promising a child that it proved hard to give her up, but interest in her own welfare finally prevailed, and this young girl now lives in her own home.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BUREAU

GENERAL BOARD AND COMMITTEES

In April, 1925, when this study was undertaken by the United States Children's Bureau, the organization of executive committee and staff of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland was well established. This bureau was originally a subcommittee of the Cleveland Welfare Federation, and the children's survey committee of 1920 appointed by the federation formed the nucleus of the bureau's general board. From time to time representatives from other agencies interested in work for children were added to the general board until it has become representative of all child-caring interests in the city. This board now is composed of two representatives from each of the child-placing agencies (the Cleveland Humane Society and the Welfare Association for Jewish Children), two from the Cleveland Associated Charities, the Catholic Charities Bureau, the Day Nursery Association, the juvenile court, and each of the 22 institutions for children. Membership on the board is open also to persons interested in child welfare who are not representatives of agencies. They are appointed through the approval of the executive committee. As the general board of the bureau included representatives of every children's agency in Greater Cleveland the Welfare Federation early requested that this board be responsible for the discussion and solution of community problems affecting the care of children. Thus the board not only carries the work particularly related to the bureau but also acts as the functional group or children's council for the entire children's field of Cleveland.

No constitution was approved definitely by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland until March 9, 1926. It seemed wise, as the field of work undertaken was still comparatively unexplored, that the administrative organization should be worked out gradually to suit the needs as the work developed rather than that there should be a fixed constitution at the beginning.[16]

Since the Jewish institutions and agencies have representation on the general board their influence has been felt in the development of the bureau, though the bureau has not made the investigations for admission of children to the two Jewish institutions. The executive secretary of the bureau acts as secretary for the general board. This general board meets bimonthly for a discussion of problems relating to the work of the bureau in particular and also to the general care of children. The changing needs of the community for care of children are recognized, and the possibilities for the development or adaptation of better methods of meeting these needs are studied. The scope of these board meetings is illustrated by the problems discussed in the year 1924: "The relation of the family and children's agencies," "A modern nutrition program for institutions," "Mental health," "Improved medical standards," "Relationship of the insti-

[16] For text of the constitution of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, see Appendix A of this report, p. 91.

tutions and the child-placing agencies," "Care of feeble-minded," and "Institutional-building programs." These board meetings have been well attended, and out of the recommendations made after joint discussion have grown some of the bureau's most effective achievements.

Alternating with the bimonthly meetings of the general board the Children's Conference, a social group of all children's workers connected with institutions and agencies, meets at the various institutions for supper and a social good time. The executive secretary of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland serves as secretary for this conference.

For the purpose of handling specific problems with greater facility, the general board has six major committees. These are the executive, annual meeting, case, medical, nutrition, and summer camp registry committees. The executive committee consists of 18 members elected for a term of three years by the general board. This committee meets monthly and is directly responsible for the formulation and administration of the bureau's policies. The annual-meeting committee has borne the responsibility for the annual meeting of the bureau; usually it assembles only two or three times a year. The case committee, which is one of the most important of all the committees, meets every other week during the winter for the discussion of difficult questions arising in connection with the care of particular children. On this committee are representatives from institutions, the family agencies, the humane society, and the juvenile court, as well as lay members. Hence it has been possible to get cooperative action and to place definite responsibility for those families and children in whom several agencies may be interested. The bureau also has been active in the formation of case committees within the institutions so that the boards of these institutions have kept in touch with the problems affecting their children. Very often the bureau worker connected with the institution acts as the secretary of the institution's case committee. The case committee of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland has been a great factor in molding the decisions in regard to admissions made by the institutions' board members and committees, but it never has relieved the institutions of their responsibility in making decisions. The policy of the bureau from the beginning has been to obtain the facts concerning the applications and to recommend the proper form of care; but the actual decision in regard to each case has been left in the control of the institutions.

The medical committee, which meets on call, usually four or five times a year, is responsible for plans relating to the medical attention provided for the child in need of community care and for the activities of the children's bureau clinic at Lakeside Hospital. The summer camp registry committee, composed of five members of the summer-camp council and five appointed by the bureau, meets four or five times a year, usually in the summer when the registry is in active operation. This registry, with an office at the central children's bureau, has been operated at the request of the summer-camp council as a clearing house for both camp agencies and social agencies. For agencies with camp facilities it is a centralized registration bureau to prevent duplication among themselves and for social

agencies needing camp service it is a joint application center for their clients.[17] Other committees are appointed from time to time to make special studies for the bureau; for example, the committee on nutrition, which met every week for a year and a half while making an intensive study of the nutrition of children in the Cleveland institutions and compiling material for distribution to the institutional directors. This committee is composed not only of members from the general board of the bureau but also of persons in the community who are specialists in nutritional work. Very recently a committee on individualizing the child was appointed to study methods that might be used in institutions for a closer observation of each child's nature; and it has prepared printed record forms to be used by the institutions, which will show the essential characteristics of the children and the degree of progress they make during their stay in the institutions.

The officers of the bureau consist of a chairman, first and second vice chairmen, an executive secretary, and a treasurer. These are elected annually by the executive committee. Because the executive secretary has duties in connection with the council activities of the bureau the election of this officer is subject to the approval of the Cleveland Welfare Federation. The bureau has been fortunate in having since its organization a chairman, vice chairmen, and executive secretary who have a fine vision of work for children and who have been unprejudiced leaders.

EXECUTIVE STAFF

The executive staff of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland consisted in April, 1925, of 27 persons: The executive secretary, the director of case work, the medical director, the receiving secretary, a supervisor, 11 case workers, and 11 students in training. There were also 5 clerical and stenographic helpers.[18] The bureau had started four years previously (April, 1921) with a staff of only two persons—the executive secretary and his assistant; but very soon it was realized that the staff must be enlarged rapidly to meet the increasing demands of the institutions for case-work study of children seeking admission.

The executive secretary is the administrative head of the bureau and is responsible for general supervision of the entire staff and for carrying out such policies as are formulated by the committee in regard to cooperation with other agencies, the health program, and other matters. The director of case work assists the secretary in the discharge of administrative duties and supervises all case work. The medical director gives all his time to the examination of children and to the general health work done for all children entering institutions and foster homes. The receiving secretary meets all persons making application for the care of children.

The receiving secretary holds one of the most important positions in the bureau, for on her skill and judgment depend very largely

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[17] In 1926 the Cleveland Welfare Federation assumed the operation of the summer-camp registry.

[18] On October 1, 1926, the executive staff consisted of 28 persons: The executive secretary, the director of case work, 2 part-time medical directors, the receiving secretary, 2 supervisors, 10 case workers, and 11 students in training; and there were also 6 clerical and stenographic helpers.

the extent of the bureau's work and its cooperation with other agencies. Information from the records indicated that the number of applications accepted during the year 1924–25 was much smaller than that for 1922–23, and this was due in great measure to the better training of the receiving secretary on the staff in the later year. The decrease is also due to the fact that in the first one or two years the institutions were inclined to insist that all applications referred by them to the bureau be investigated by bureau workers and a report made to the institutions regardless of the fact that many of these applications should have been referred directly to a family agency. However, at the present time the confidence of institutions in the work of the central bureau is so great that many applications formerly investigated by the bureau are now turned over immediately to other agencies. Each person making application is carefully interviewed, and a form is filled out with required information. While the applicant is still in the office the Social Service Clearing House is consulted in person (it is in the same building as the bureau) for further information on the family. If the family is found to be known to some other agency, this agency is consulted before any action is taken. If the application indicates that the problem might be solved better by some other agency than by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, the applicant is taken or sent to the office of the agency able to assist. The Welfare Federation has been able to house most of the charitable agencies in the same building, and this often has enabled the bureau to make a direct contact for the applicant with the agency to which he has been referred. Much of the former futile effort which applicants for institutional care of their children put forth in going from one institution to another and from one agency to another has thus been largely eliminated. If some unusual problem is involved in an application, this is taken up directly with the supervisor of case work, and all applications accepted are referred to her for distribution to the staff members.

Owing to a serious lack of trained case workers in Cleveland it seemed necessary to arrange for a training course in connection with the bureau which would provide training for its staff members during their service. In this respect a precedent already had been provided by the Cleveland Associated Charities, which had established a training course in connection with its work as early as 1905, and in 1916 it affiliated with the school of applied social sciences of Western Reserve University. Therefore it was decided that the Children's Bureau of Cleveland and the humane society, which also felt the need for better-trained children's workers, should participate in a joint training course conducted under the auspices of Western Reserve University. This course was started in October, 1921, in the school of applied social sciences under the direction of an experienced children's worker, who correlates the theory and the field work.

Every effort has been made to attract well-qualified students. In the four years during which this course has been conducted (1921–1925) the total enrollment has been 83 students, and 52 of these were college graduates. Students who are not college graduates must have had normal-school training, teaching experience, or experience

in social work. In addition a candidate for admission must receive the approval of the director of the course and the director of the agency where training is to be received. The course originally was planned to cover a year, but in the fall of 1924 it was extended to cover two years, leading to the degree of master of science in social administration on presentation of a thesis acceptable to the university. Students are assigned special tasks in the agencies employing them, and the course of instruction is designed to give to the student an understanding of the social problems and some of the methods of treatment. Much of the material used for teaching purposes is derived from the field experience of these students. During the year the student is required to work at least 32 hours a week in one of the cooperating agencies.[19] The college graduate without experience receives during the first year a monthly salary of $75 for the first 6 months, $80 for 6 to 9 months, and $85 for 9 to 12 months. In the second year the student receives $100 for the first 6 months, $105 for 6 to 9 months, and $120 for 9 to 12 months. The agencies in which students receive their training pay $90 a year to the university for each student's tuition, while the student pays $35 toward his tuition.[20] The agencies also cooperate with the university by offering opportunities for field work to students not enrolled on this remunerative basis.

Students qualifying for the course are pledged to stay at least two years with the agency where they are receiving their practical training. In the four years during which this course has been conducted 69 of the 83 students have completed their course. Twenty-two later dropped out of the work entirely, the chief reason being marriage. Only 5 left the agency in which they received their training to go to some other agency. There were 14 who failed to complete the course, 5 giving ill health as the reason, 8 not being sufficiently interested to go on with this field of work, and 1 expecting to travel.

Twenty-eight of the 83 students enrolled were assigned to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland for their training, and 25 of these completed the course. Among these 28 students were 19 college graduates and 9 who did not have college degrees but had had other experience that made them eligible for training. The desire for more mature workers for certain phases of the work and the necessity of having workers of particular religious faiths represented on the staff do not always make it possible to secure workers who are college graduates.[21] Valuable though this plan is in the present situation in Cleveland it has the inherent difficulties of combining a job with getting an education at the same time, and it necessitates class work with students of quite different academic attainments.

Since the bureau finds it necessary to maintain its corps of trained workers by providing the means for their training, the organization of the staff becomes somewhat more involved than in those agencies having only trained members. The work of the bureau falls into two main divisions: The work with the individual institutions and

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[19] Annual Catalogue, School of Applied Social Sciences, 1925–26. Western Reserve University Bulletin, Vol. XXIX, No. 5 (May, 1926), pp. 57–60. Cleveland, Ohio.

[20] In October, 1927, the student will assume the full amount of the tuition. Any saving made in this way by the agency will be used to increase the worker's salary after the training is completed.

[21] The 1926 training class was composed entirely of college graduates who had chosen the social sciences as their major subjects, and many applications had to be refused.

the district work. One of the greatest services it has been able to extend to the institutions is providing a full-time case worker who practically becomes a member of the institutional staff and through this close association has been able to know the particular problems that the institution has to face. Most of the Cleveland institutions are small, so that it would not be possible financially for them to have their own trained workers; but having one bureau worker handle the case work for two or three small institutions has made trained service available for all institutions. This system has made trained social service possible for the smallest institutions, and through the intimate contact established by the bureau staff with the institutions the bureau has been able to balance the needs of the community with the institutional facilities. That the work in connection with the institutions requires mature judgment and experience in case work has been recognized by the bureau, and only trained workers have been assigned to these positions. These workers are responsible for the social work for children in the institution and those whose families request admission. Much depends on the spirit of the institution as to the amount of work which the case worker carries. Most of the institutions have turned over the records of all children, although there are some in which the social worker is not allowed to investigate every child.

The Children's Bureau of Cleveland has had the responsibility of demonstrating to the institutions the value of social case work. This has been done by education in the use of modern methods of case work rather than by insisting that certain standards accepted by the bureau should be adopted immediately by all institutions cooperating with it. The result has been that the institutions gradually are turning over all their work to the bureau as their confidence is gained. Some institutions have responded much more quickly than others, which has meant that their cooperation with the bureau has been much more close than that of others. However, during the four years in which the bureau has operated, it has known practically all the Cleveland children in the institutions. The average case load for the institutional social workers on the bureau staff was 40 to 60 cases.

In April, 1925, 17 of the institutions had assigned to them trained case workers from the bureau. Eight large institutions found it possible to use the full-time services of one worker; and four workers were able to handle the problems of investigation and follow-up for the nine that were small. The other institutions cooperated with the bureau, but they did not have particular workers specifically assigned. Besides their work with institutions two of the older trained workers acted as supervisors of case work for several students in training, and all important decisions relating to their own work or that of the students whose work they supervised were discussed with the director of case work.[22]

To facilitate the initial investigation of families and the follow-up work, when it was necessary to place children in institutions or to supervise them in their own homes, the bureau divided Cleveland into seven districts and placed a social worker in each of these dis-

[22] In 1926, owing to the increased demands for the services of the bureau, arrangements were made for two full-time supervisors and three part-time supervisors, who also carry some institutional case work.

tricts. At the time of the study these workers were usually students in training. All case records and work done by the student workers are checked carefully by their supervisors before any action is decided upon. The average case load for the student worker is 30 families—sometimes more, but seldom with difficult cases.

The time of one trained worker is given entirely to the investigation of petitions for adoption of children referred to the bureau by the probate court. Another trained worker gives all her time in the summer to work connected with the summer-camp registry.

RECORDS AND REPORTS

Every inquiry of any kind pertaining to the care of children is reported on an application blank and is cleared through the Social Service Clearing House. This is true even for those persons who are referred directly to another agency without any investigation whatever, and for those whose application evidently is unimportant and is dropped by the bureau. The application blank is filled out by the person interviewing the applicant (usually the receiving secretary), and the name and address and the most salient facts in regard to the family and its social history as well as the Social Service Clearing House references are noted. If the application is accepted this becomes a part of the case record. If the applicant is referred to another agency or for some other reason the application is not accepted it is marked "information only," and is filed alphabetically in a separate file. All facts contained in the application blank are noted in a register whether the application is accepted or not, and a number is given to each application. The name of the worker to whom the case was referred is added also.

The case records contain a face sheet, running record, summary reports from other agencies who have known the family, medical examination record, summaries made by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland for other agencies or institutions interested in the family or for case committees, summaries of social history prepared for cases where mental examination is needed, reports of mental-hygiene studies, parental consents for medical treatment, and contracts made by parents for the support of children. All case records are made out for the family rather than for the child, and they are filed according to number.

The complete files of the bureau consist of a register for applications, a card file of all cases known to the bureau, a visible-index file of active cases, a statistical-card file for cases active in the current year, a case-record file, a card file showing the collections made for the board of children, and a file showing the children whose custody the bureau has accepted. The card files are arranged alphabetically and the file of closed-case records numerically. The active-case records are kept on the desks of the respective workers, arranged alphabetically in box files.

The executive secretary makes an annual report on the work of the bureau—a brief summary of the aims of the bureau and the achievements of the year, and this is issued in printed form. Once a month a report is rendered to the Welfare Federation of Cleveland. This furnishes information on records open at the first of the month, new records, closed records, number of children in institutions under

supervision at first of month, number admitted and number discharged during the month, number of children receiving medical and mental examinations, number of children referred to family and placing agencies, cooperation with other community agencies, and similar items. A copy of the compilation made from these reports for 1924 by the Welfare Federation of Cleveland is shown in the following table:

Information compiled by the Welfare Federation of Cleveland from the monthly reports made during 1924 by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland

Month (1924)	Records open at first of month	New records [1]	Re-opened records [1]	Information-only records [1]	Number of children involved including Children's Aid Society [2]	Records closed	Number of children in institutions under care on first of month	Number of children admitted to institutions	Number of children discharged from institutions
Total	[3] 900	901	153	637	[3] 374	1,033	[3] 947	1,154	1,234
January	817	102	25	39	405	47	870	95	59
February	897	79	15	38	390	75	927	115	98
March	916	79	9	38	379	59	969	108	101
April	945	68	7	24	264	52	973	76	77
May	968	69	10	45	308	28	1,054	74	67
June	1,019	77	16	64	424	56	957	110	160
July	1,056	85	10	62	379	128	891	81	132
August	1,023	87	9	91	465	84	898	100	106
September	1,153	77	18	57	424	288	979	99	135
October	981	62	10	88	438	68	901	113	132
November	1,029	64	14	48	318	57	967	100	78
December	1,079	52	10	43	298	91	975	83	89

[1] Figures for each month in columns 2, 3, 4 give total number of families assisted.
[2] Figures in column 5 represent the total number of children in those families.
[3] Average per month.

The monthly report of the executive secretary is compiled from the written reports made once a month by each visitor on the executive staff. The visitors' reports are made on a standard form that calls for information under the three headings (1) families, (2) visits, and (3) cooperation (referring to cooperation with other community agencies in solving problems relating to the care of children). These records give only a numerical tabulation of applications for care, case conferences, first investigations, and contacts with individual agencies.

Monthly reports of the medical and dental services at the clinic at Lakeside Hospital also are made to the executive secretary of the bureau, who transmits them to the Welfare Federation of Cleveland.

FUNCTIONS AND POLICIES OF THE BUREAU

The functions of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland are outlined as follows: (1) To investigate requests for admission to the children's institutions in Greater Cleveland, securing the fullest possible facts about the child and his family as a basis for a constructive plan; (2) to follow up the child's family after placement so that his family may be rebuilt as speedily as possible for his return; (3) to examine physically all children admitted to institutions and boarding homes; (4) to provide diagnostic service and planning

for problem and difficult children through medical, psychological, and psychiatric examination and observation at the Children's Aid Society mental clinic; (5) to offer (under Western Reserve University) training for children's workers; (6) to afford a medium of exchange of information and discussion of joint problems; (7) to aid in developing a community plan for child welfare and the part of each agency and institution in that plan.

The bureau had the unusual advantage of possessing as a basis for operation the wealth of information which the survey had gathered in regard not only to each institution but also to the general needs of the community. It had a working knowledge from the first of the position of each of its member institutions in relation to the children in its care and to the public, and it knew the demands being made on these institutions by the community. The bureau's task was to plan a program that would increase the usefulness of institutions to the community and redefine for the public the place of the institution in the care of dependent and neglected children. A careful study of all requests for the admission of children to institutions has been the basis for this program.

The Children's Bureau of Cleveland has offered constructive social service and has aimed with a full knowledge of all facts to plan adequately for the best interests of each child coming to its attention. If institutional care is needed applicants no longer are compelled to travel from one institution to another seeking a vacancy. If on the other hand it is to the interest of the child that he remain with his family, community resources such as mothers' pensions, day nurseries, and family relief may be utilized to the full in lieu of institutional care. For the child placed in an institution the bureau provides a careful follow-up so that he may be returned as soon as his family is ready for him. If a child's own home is permanently shattered or is not apt to be ready for the child for a long period the bureau, through cooperation with a child-placing agency, finds for the child a suitable home, which may be a free home, a boarding home, an adoptive home, or a wage home. In the case of foreign children the tie with the godparents implies a spiritual obligation, and it is often possible to place children very happily in the homes of godparents.

INVESTIGATION OF APPLICATIONS

Through trained and experienced workers all facts concerning the child and his family are sought from relatives, social agencies, schools, churches, and medical authorities. A case study of a child and his family falls into two parts: First, a study of the child's family; second, a study of the child himself. A study of the family includes the parents' physical condition, their mental capacity and personality, their religion and education, their vocation and financial ability, their control over the children, and related matters. It usually includes also a knowledge of the near relatives, as many children are saved from institutional placement through the interest and generosity of relatives.

Use of the Social Service Clearing House and the securing of information from the agencies registered frequently make it possible to know the whole background of the child before any contact is

made with the family. A call in the home to learn the family's own story is not sufficient; for it is not enough to note the symptoms, but the actual social disease must be diagnosed. This can be accomplished only through calls on relatives, schools, employers, and other references. The study of the child includes his heredity, possible feeble-mindedness, physical condition, previous environment, home, companions, and school and church relationships. His physical and mental capacities, his disposition, and his likes and dislikes all are considered in determining his future development and how it can best be provided for. As the result of such a study of each child and his family by competent workers who know the entire community resources, and the development of definite policies, the long lists of children waiting for admission to institutions which previously existed have been wiped out; and at present all children in real need are being placed immediately. Careful investigation has shown that the number of applications made by the family direct, from which the institutions formerly drew most of their clients, can be so reduced by modern methods of social service and planning that only about one-fifth of such cases need actual placement; in the remaining cases the family can be kept together through the cooperation of other community agencies. Often the need is for financial aid to keep the family together, for court action on the ground of neglect, for medical or mental diagnosis and care, for placement with relatives, or for return to the legal residence of the family.

The rock upon which all child-welfare work in Cleveland is built is the principle that the home shall be preserved and the family ties retained for every child if it is humanly possible to do so. Placement is to be accepted only as a last resort. Where care outside the child's own home becomes necessary for a longer or shorter period two methods of care are provided by the community—institutional care and foster-home care. The Children's Bureau of Cleveland stands as the door to institutional care, while the Cleveland Humane Society is the door through which children pass to foster-home care. Owing to the limited facilities at the present time for care in foster homes,[23] particularly for the children of Catholic faith, the bureau and the humane society after careful consideration decided upon the following plan in regard to the care of those children whose placement outside their own homes was imperative: The bureau on behalf of the institutions which it represents is accepting the children coming to the attention of children's agencies for the first time; this would include children over 3 years of age only (unless, as occasionally happens, infants are given temporary care in St. Ann's Maternity Home or the Salvation Army Rescue Home), boys up to 12 or 13 years of age, girls up to 14 years, crippled children to be cared for in two homes for cripples, and adolescent girls to be cared for in the two training homes. The humane society is providing care for children under 3 years, boys and girls over institutional age, many problem children, a small number of children received from parents who have indicated their preference for foster-home care, all de-

[23] Lack of adequate foster-home facilities has been due largely to the increasing demand for foster-home care which the new child-welfare program has created in Cleveland and to the fact that funds have not been sufficient for meeting this demand.

pendent negro children, and children discharged from institutions after training or after a period of institutional care.

It has been recognized that this is not an ideal plan and that the policy should be changed as soon as more adequate placement service and boarding-home care could be developed to meet the increasing need. Moreover this policy has not always been hard and fast, and frequent exceptions have been made to meet the desires of parents and the child's special needs. One of the great advantages of this system has been the interplay of institutional and foster-home care for children and the more exact knowledge which has come as to the need that institutions and placing agencies may fulfill in community child welfare.

The bureau's policy in regard to the length of time that children accepted for institutional care shall remain in an institution is that residence for the normal child should be fairly short (not more than two years at the most and probably much less) but that the length of time that each child spends in the institution should be determined entirely by the condition of his own home and by his own individual needs. This policy was developed largely because there were not many homes available for children—chiefly owing to lack of finances for boarding-home service. Accordingly it was a question which group of children should have first the advantages of home placement. This never has been an invariable rule, and any child especially in need of boarding-home care always has been provided for in a foster home.

In regard to most of the children coming to the attention of the bureau it has been felt that a brief period of training in an institution is beneficial before they are sent back to their own homes or put in foster homes. This perhaps has helped to save many foster homes that formerly were lost when untrained children were placed in them directly from their own homes and failed to adjust themselves to these foster homes. The bureau is anxious that the children who have been in institutions the longest time should be the first ones considered for boarding-home placement. At present many children need to be placed in homes, a few of these having been in institutions more than five years. The bureau carefully reviews all children who have been in institutions more than two years, and if no other plan is possible the Cleveland Humane Society is asked to place them in foster homes.

What children shall be accepted for care outside their own homes depends, of course, on the individual family circumstances and each child's particular need; but principles that have become a definite guide in the solution of certain family problems have been worked out from experience in handling many cases. Social agencies in Cleveland unquestionably stand for the principle that no child shall be taken from his home because of poverty alone. In the case of widows and deserted women with little children, where the question of lack of support is uppermost, the help of family agencies and mothers' pensions are enlisted to save the family unity. Aside from the consideration of the child's best interests, which prompts the desire to keep him with his mother if possible, it costs the community less to keep a child in his own home than to place him in an institution. Though the problem when the father is left with a

family of little children is much more difficult to solve and more children of widowers than of widows are accepted for institutional care (see Table 17, p. 66), the bureau has accomplished something for these families by arrangements for nursery care or for a housekeeper.[24] For the woman with one child it is possible to make arrangements for the child's care in a day nursery; or a home may be found where both mother and child can be boarded; or a position in housework may be obtained where the child can stay with his mother. During the first years of the bureau's organization many institutions were unwilling that applications involving a widow with children or a woman with one child should be turned over immediately to a family agency, and it often happened that after the situation of a woman with one child was investigated the child was placed. This attitude on the part of institutions has changed gradually, until now practically all cases of a woman with one child are referred directly to family agencies, and so great are their facilities for helping to keep the mother and child together that very few cases are referred back to the bureau for placement of the child.

Divorce and separation undoubtedly constitute to-day one of the greatest menaces in the welfare of children. Studies relating to the problem of divorce have shown everywhere that the ease with which parents are relieved of responsibility for their children aids divorce and that in the long run the children suffer neglect. Therefore the Children's Bureau of Cleveland has been extremely careful about the acceptance of children of divorced parents, particularly where the divorce is pending or contemplated, and has formulated the following principles in regard to this problem:

1. If requests came from parents about to separate it was felt that in such cases separation should be made as hard as possible for the parents; the responsibility to be left entirely with the parents, the children not to be accepted for institutional care, and the family to be referred to a family agency for treatment.

2. If parents already had separated and each had engaged an attorney for divorce proceedings it was decided that as a general rule the bureau should leave the entire matter to the parents' legal representatives. However, it was felt that in certain cases an impartial investigation should be made as a protection to the children. Through a special arrangement investigation in these cases was to be made by the bureau of domestic relations; and only on the recommendation of this bureau and with the full knowledge of the trial judge were children to be placed if divorces were pending.

3. If the divorce was pending, or even if it had been heard and no order of custody was made, it was decided that for the protection of the institutions a custody order should be secured by one parent or the other. It was recommended that custody before placement be secured through the juvenile court or the court making the divorce decision.

4. If the parent best able to care for the child at the time application was made had been denied custody at time of divorce, it was felt that the question of custody should be reviewed by the court

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[24] Plans by the bureau for a study of certain situations in the families of widowers, which at present are handled by both the bureau and the Associated Charities, are now under way in order to determine what policies are governing the supervision of these cases.

before placement. The general feeling was that unless the mother was unfit she should be given custody of the children in most divorce cases and that if she needed help for the children she should be referred to a family agency.

The families in which neglect of children is the tragedy necessitating placement also receive most careful study. If evidence warrants prosecution and if the parents are placed on probation there is an opportunity to remove the cause of neglect while the child is receiving care outside his home. If it proves impossible to reestablish the home and the child is permanently removed, the agency planning for the child's welfare secures custody of the child through court action, as otherwise the parents are apt to demand the child at any time whether it is for his best interests or not. Children whose families are not legal residents of Cleveland are returned to the community legally responsible for their care except in special cases or emergencies. These cases sometimes require protracted and extremely careful investigation, as it is often difficult in small communities to arouse a real sense of responsibility for the family that is being sent back. After investigation and verification through social agencies transportation if necessary is provided for the return of children to relatives, guardians, or home community.

Caution in the placing of children whose families present such problems as have been described does not prevent emergency placement, however. In time of acute distress, sickness, death, or neglect it is a vital part of community child welfare to be able to place promptly. Agencies are asked to give notice to the bureau several days before hospital admission of parents or a court hearing, if possible, so that the best service possible may be rendered in the placement of the children concerned.

In the course of the investigation of applications there arise many situations that call for the greatest consideration in deciding what may be the plan best suited to the welfare of the children for whose care in an institution application has been made. The Cleveland Children's Bureau has found that supervising children in the home where they were living when application was made often does away with the necessity of placing them in an institution. Hence the policy of the bureau has been supervision without removal in those cases where there is no emergency need for placement but where there is some question as to whether ultimately the children may have to be placed. This supervision is carried on by the district workers.

At present legal custody of children is accepted by the Catholic Charities Bureau, the Cleveland Humane Society, some of the children's institutions, the juvenile court, and the children's bureau. The children's bureau has accepted the custody of children since the beginning of 1925, and at present it has the legal custody of a very few children. The decision to accept custody of children was made largely because it was felt that much time and effort might be saved in certain cases where this central bureau made all the plans for the child but his actual custody was given to another organization. Thus the bureau accepts custody for children needing only very temporary care, leaving long-time custody problems to other agencies.

INVESTIGATIONS FOR ADOPTIONS

The law gave to the probate court wide discretionary powers in regard to investigation of petitioners for the adoption of children,[25] but no definite arrangement had been made with an agency for this service until 1925. By an arrangement with the probate court following a study by the Cleveland Conference on Illegitimacy [26] early in 1925 the children's agencies were to provide investigation service on all petitions for adoption of children. All cases of requested adoptions are cleared first through the Social Service Clearing House and then are referred to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland. All petitions which indicate that either the child or the petitioners are known to some case-work agency are referred directly to that agency for investigation. Petitions which show that no other case-work agency is interested are divided equally between the Children's Bureau of Cleveland and the Cleveland Humane Society for investigation. In the division of these petitions those involving illegitimacy primarily are turned over to the humane society, though it frequently happens that in order to divide the number of investigations equally the bureau is obliged to take cases of this type also. Because of pressure of work at the present time in the bureau the investigation of petitions where relatives or stepfathers are petitioners has been dropped. However, when the court especially requests investigation of relatives' adoptions the bureau makes the study and report.

This service aims to protect the foster parents through information concerning the child and his family, his physical and mental condition, and the advisability of his adoption and also to protect the child through a study of the fitness of the prospective home. The court is under no obligation to accept the findings of the children's agencies in regard to these investigations of petitions for adoption, and the fact seems to be that some recommendations against the consummation of adoption have been ignored. However, this service is a long step in advance in the protection of children placed for adoption, and it is yet too early to determine the extent of its success.[27] The children most subject to adoption and therefore most in need of protection are those born out of wedlock and those whose parents are divorced. In the interest of the latter group a plan has been developed in Cleveland by which the probate court refuses to complete an adoption without the consent of the court granting the divorce. The judges of the court of common pleas have ruled that they will not grant such consent without investigation and recommendation from the bureau of domestic relations.

PROVISIONS FOR MEDICAL CARE

In July, 1923, the bureau added medical service to its already existing child-welfare organization in order to give improved medical attention to the children admitted to the care of institutions

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[25] Ohio, Gen. Code 1910, sec. 8024–1, added by act of May 5, 1921, Laws of 1921, p. 177. (Page's Ann. Gen. Code 1926, sec. 8024–1, p. 2948.)

[26] Cole, Lawrence C.: "A study of adoptions in Cuyahoga County." The Family [New York], vol. 6, no. 9 (January, 1926), pp. 259–264.

[27] Since the study was made a former judge of the juvenile court has been elevated to the probate court, and the agency recommendations almost always are followed. The court likewise is now requesting investigations on all adoptions by relatives.

or placed in foster homes. The children's bureau clinic was organized as a definite department of the dispensary of the Lakeside Hospital and operates on the same basis as any other dispensary department. The hospital furnishes rent, light, heat, telephone service, laboratory and consultation service, etc., and the bureau furnishes the staff, supplies, and equipment. The medical committee, composed of representatives of the bureau and of the hospital, is responsible for policies and administration. The advantages of this associated arrangement are quite evident; it eliminates the necessity for a separate clinic, saving duplication of service already at hand; it provides immediately the highest type of consultation service in special conditions as well as all laboratory measures and the proper social-service direction from the medical standpoint; and it gives adequate contact with the modern trend in pediatrics and child-health work through consultation with the heads of the department of pediatrics of Lakeside Hospital.

The medical director of this centralized clinic is a specialist in pediatrics. He is a member of the children's bureau staff and of the staff of the pediatric department of the Lakeside Hospital and gives all his time to the examination of the children and to work with the child-caring institutions and agencies in solving their medical problems.[28] An experienced steering clerk has charge of clearing the cases, keeping the records, interpreting the examiner's findings, and directing the follow-up work—all subject to the approval and supervision of the head social worker in the hospital's department of pediatrics.

The clinic was organized to give medical attention to all dependent children cared for in institutions through the Children's Bureau of Cleveland and all children over 3 years of age cared for in foster homes through the Cleveland Humane Society. As the institutions usually have their own medical staffs the responsibility for the removal of physical defects that had been found in children in the course of the examinations was to rest primarily with the institutions when the children were placed in their care; and this responsibility in regard to the children to be cared for in foster homes was to rest upon the clinic. The remedial work for the institutional children generally is performed by the institutions' medical staffs or by a conveniently situated hospital, although many children are returned to the clinic for treatment at the institutions' request. The foster-home children return to the clinic at intervals for further medical care according to their needs.

Before admission to an institution or a boarding home each child is brought to the clinic by the worker in charge of the case. After the child has been examined the results of the examination together with the recommendations for his care are recorded on the triplicate medical blank. Subsequently one blank is filled in at the clinic, a second is sent to the institution for the attention of the medical attendant, and the third is sent to the social worker in charge of the case and is filed with the child's record at the Children's Bureau of Cleveland.

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[28] In July, 1926, the medical director entered private practice and began giving only half time to the work of the clinic. A woman pediatrician giving part time was added to the staff to handle the examination and treatment of the older girls. Medical direction of the receiving home at the Children's Aid Society also was assumed on this date to correlate the service with the clinic.

The examination of the child includes not merely a negative bill of health but a careful examination of throat, heart, lungs, eyes, glands, teeth, ears, nose, nutrition, skin, and scalp. Many children are found to be in a condition of health that requires some arrangement to be made for very special care. The importance of modern child-health care is brought out strikingly by statistics compiled in regard to 680 children given complete physical examinations at the clinic. Ninety-five per cent of all the children examined showed one or more defects, as follows: 55 per cent had dental caries, 50 per cent had goiter, 13 per cent had enlarged tonsils, 22 per cent were seriously affected by malnutrition, 17 per cent had defects of the genital organs, 3 per cent had defects of the nervous system, and 65 per cent had defects of some other nature. Among the 680 children were 36 who had diseases requiring hospital treatment before they could be admitted to institutions or boarding homes.

Apart from its primary object in the physical examination of dependent children the most important purpose of the clinic organization is to aid the various institutions to incorporate modern child-health measures in their own programs. Since its establishment the child-caring agencies and institutions have asked the assistance of the clinic's medical director in solving their various health problems, including reexaminations of the institutional children, immunization against diphtheria, prevention of goiter, various operative procedures, consultation in obscure cases of illness, aid in control of infectious and contagious diseases, advice on orthopedic conditions, diagnosis and care of peculiar skin diseases, laboratory tests (including the tuberculin and Wassermann tests), X-ray examinations, and adequate recording of medical conditions. By giving part time to working in the institutions with their medical staffs the medical director has been a great force in stimulating improved medical care within the institutions, so that now practically every institution is reexamining all children every six months, giving toxin-antitoxin as a matter of routine, isolating every child on admission, and using similar preventive health measures. If medical and dental corrections are not completed on discharge, special arrangements are made for follow-up to complete these for the child in his own home. As a result of this cooperation with the institutions a medical program has been devised as a goal for which to strive in each institution. This program is as follows:

Initial or entrance complete physical examination to include:

General development; state of nutrition; age; height; weight; average weight; body temperature; condition of skin, lymph glands, scalp, head, ears, eyes, vision, nose, mouth, teeth, throat, tonsils, adenoids, neck (goiter), chest, heart, lungs, abdomen, genitalia, extremities, osseous system, neuromuscular system.

A competent physician, either skilled or trained in work with children, preferably a physician who has vision of preventive work, should make the first examination and present exact recommendations for each individual case.

Institutional facilities for the removal and prevention of defects and disease:

Observation ward of cottage where children may remain two weeks before mingling in main institutions.

Isolation quarters for cases of contagious and infectious disease.

Hospital quarters for care of the sick (medical care), and hospital quarters for operative procedures (surgical care)—either of which may be within an institution or outside it by cooperative relation with a hospital or dispensary, the preferred arrangement.

Institutional facilities for the removal and prevention, etc.—Continued.

Preventive measures conducted by visiting physician at the institution—

1. Smallpox vaccination.
2. (*a*) Schick tests; (*b*) Dick test (pending); (*c*) toxin-antitoxin immunization for diphtheria.
3. Prevention of goiter by iodide.
4. Nose and throat cultures routine upon admission and during outbreak of diphtheria.

Dietary measures:

1. Diet should consist both quantitatively and qualitatively of the required food elements—protein, fat, carbohydrate, salts, vitamins.
2. Special treatment of malnutrition, following the removal of all defects, includes specific additions to diet plus bimonthly weighing, rest periods, regulation of exercise and sleep.

Laboratory work (usually performed outside institution):

(1) X-ray examination; (2) Wassermann test; (3) tuberculin test; (4) vaginal smear (all to be done upon recommendation of the physician).

Special examination by specialist for eyes, ears, nose, throat. Urinary tract with examination of urine, etc. Skin diseases and other consultation necessities.

Dental care:

With admission dental examination and reexamination every six months. For the larger groups this may be performed by a dentist within the institution; for the smaller groups by an outside dental association.

Local hygienic measures—such as cleanliness, individual towels, care of teeth, ventilation, etc.

There should be a reexamination of all children both from medical and dental standpoint every six months.

Adequate though brief medical records should be kept to record all medical and dental care performed. (A uniform medical blank has been developed and is in use in most of the institutions.)

No child should be discharged from the institution until his defects have been removed. If this must be done there should be a serious attempt to follow up those in subsequent charge of the child.[29]

Provision for dental care has been made at the Lakeside Hospital clinic and in two institutions from the funds of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland. These are in addition to those existing in the large institutions, and at present every institution with more than 150 children under its care (and some with less) has its own dental equipment. Arrangements are made by the institutions for the part-time services of dentists, and at the bureau clinic a dentist gives three half days a week to the care of the teeth of children placed in foster homes and those for whom service is not available elsewhere. The dental clinic at Lakeside Hospital has been operating since January, 1924.[30] The importance of dental care is made evident by a recent report showing that only 8 of 244 children in one institution did not need dental care.

Health work is a fundamental requirement for the dependent child since he too often comes from an environment where illness and lack of care have been the cause of his dependency and since his physical examination on entrance to an institution or foster home may be his only opportunity to have defects discovered that later might prove a serious handicap to his health.

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[29] Wahl, Spencer A.: "Keeping children well in institutions." The Survey [New York], Vol. LIII, No. 8 (Jan. 15, 1925), pp. 461–462.

[30] Since January, 1926, six half days a week have been inadequate to meet demands for dental service at the clinic of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland.

PROVISIONS FOR MENTAL EXAMINATIONS

Through the efforts of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland and owing also to the unusual vision of the board of directors of the Children's Aid Society, who foresaw the need of special care for the difficult child, this society (an institution having a building of the old congregate type) was reopened early in 1922 as a diagnostic clinic for the examination of children with difficult mental and behavior traits. Its purpose is not custodial care but special diagnosis and treatment for the problem child through physical, psychological, and psychiatric examination and through careful evaluation of the child's behavior. Retarded, psychopathic, abnormal, misunderstood, and delinquent children were referred to this clinic for study and recommendation before final plans were made for their care. The average stay at the clinic for each child was about two weeks. The service of this clinic was available to all children's agencies, the juvenile court, the board of education, and other social agencies of the city. The Children's Bureau of Cleveland was responsible for the social service necessary in regard to admissions, relations with other agencies, and discharges; the problems of actual mental and medical examination, internal organization, and institutional management have been the responsibility of the clinic. As this is a new field of work many problems have arisen. One of these was following up cases after diagnosis and giving more careful attention to carrying out the treatment recommended. Accordingly it was early decided to add to the clinic staff a visitor trained in psychiatric social work in order to make the follow-up work more effective.

In December, 1924, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene opened a child-guidance clinic as a demonstration in Cleveland. This was financed by the Commonwealth Fund and was located in the Children's Aid Society plant. When it took over the society's work for difficult children 20 beds were assigned to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland for use as a receiving home.[31]

The bureau is responsible for all admissions to and discharges from the receiving home; and the medical director of the bureau has been placed in charge of the medical care at this receiving home so that it has become closely connected with the clinic at Lakeside Hospital. The plan is to have children remain in the receiving home not more than two weeks. During this period they will be given all medical and mental study necessary in order to fit them for placement in an institution or foster home or possibly the return to their own homes. As capacity is limited in proportion to total number of children being placed, only those children are placed in the receiving home who primarily need careful observation or medical and mental health study to determine what may be best for their future. This is of course a very recent development, and it is too early to predict how this arrangement for a receiving home may work out. It is quite likely that when the permanent organization

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[31] On Jan. 1, 1927, this child-guidance clinic became permanent and took over the professional direction of the work for difficult children done by the Children's Aid Society. The professional staff, including psychiatrist, psychologist, and social workers, became part of the staff of the clinic. Fourteen beds were assigned to the child-guidance clinic for use in the observation of behavior cases. Twenty-six other beds were assigned to the children's bureau for use as a receiving home.

of the child-guidance clinic has been completed there may be other changes in the provision for the care of the difficult children which was first started by the Children's Aid Society.

FOLLOW-UP WORK AFTER PLACEMENT

In accordance with the aim of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland to retain family ties wherever possible, contact with the family is continued during the child's stay in an institution, and every effort is made to adjust circumstances so that the child may return to his own home as soon as possible. The chief object is to prevent the children from indefinite institutional care, by keeping alive the responsibility of parents or relatives for the future care of their children. If the conditions in the home are such that it is impossible to return the child to his own people after he has received the training and care for which he was placed in an institution, he is then removed and placed in a foster home. It sometimes happens that families stubbornly refuse to reestablish a home for the children. In such cases the bureau finds that as soon as a child is removed from the institution and placed in a foster home his own parents, fearing that the child may become too attached to the foster parents, soon make arrangements for him in their own home or with relatives. No case is closed by the bureau until the best possible adjustment for the child has been made, and usually this means supervision in his own home after care in an institution, if no other agency is responsible. The follow-up work had been one of the important factors in regulating the length of residence of children in the institutions. Other central clearing bureaus in this country are making initial investigations, but perhaps no other bureau has developed follow-up work to the same extent as the Children's Bureau of Cleveland.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF CHILDREN

Through contact with the families the Children's Bureau of Cleveland has been able to get from the parents greater financial support of their children than has been possible before. It has been recognized that (because of the lack of investigation in the past) some parents have been relieved entirely from financial responsibility or allowed to pay too small an amount for the care of their children. The parent's responsibility for his child's care comes before other debts of any kind. The bureau felt that for the child's sake and his own, as well as for the community, every parent should be held to this responsibility by court action if necessary. When children are accepted for institutional care the case worker makes out a budget for the family. This is based on a careful study of the family's income and expenses. With this exact knowledge in hand the bureau asks the parents or guardians to sign a contract for the amount of payment they fairly can make toward the support of their children. Every parent, if able, should pay something, no matter how small; and he should be held strictly to as large a percentage of the actual cost of support as his circumstances permit. It was felt that with the cost of institutional care ranging from $3.50 to $13 a week, without counting interest on capital investment, parents should not be permitted to transfer their obligations to the Community Fund.

When dependent children come through the juvenile court and the court orders payment, the court also holds itself responsible for the collection of the money so far as is possible. This money then is paid over to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland and prorated to the institutions giving care to the children involved. Other families are expected to pay for their children at the office of the bureau. With more simple arrangements in handling payments among the various agencies making collections for the support of children, and with more training on the part of the staff, the collection of a larger percentage of the total cost of support from those able to pay may be possible as time goes on.

THE EFFECT OF THE BUREAU ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTIONS FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

REDUCTION OF CONGESTION IN THE INSTITUTIONS

Cleveland institutions for dependent children were so crowded at the time of the establishment of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland in 1921 that many institutions were making plans for the addition of new buildings to the old institution or were intending to build entirely new plants. Through careful investigation of applications for the admission of children to institutions and the acceptance of only those children who were most in need, the bureau soon demonstrated that the capacity of the institutions at that time was sufficient for the real needs of Cleveland children. It is a significant achievement that the building programs which have been carried out have been replacements of antiquated plants and not extensions. Parmadale, the new Catholic cottage project, is a replacement and combination of two old orphanages. The Cleveland Protestant Orphanage likewise replaced its antiquated plant with a modern cottage system in the country. The new Cleveland Christian Home was approved with the understanding that the increased facilities were to meet primarily the out-of-town responsibilities of the Christian Church. It was also shown that one or two other institutions could be closed without affecting in any way the needs of the community for institutional care of children, or that the facilities which these institutions had might be used for the children in need of some special care. The Children's Aid Society in 1922 requested the help of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland in the removal of all children in its institution at that time in order that it might reopen as a center for the study of problem children. (See p. 32.) A number of organizations that had made application to the State for permits to construct new institutions were unable to prove the need for such institutions, and consequently were not allowed to build, and two institutions for certain foreign groups were closed and the children provided for elsewhere in the community.

The recommendation of a temporary shelter made in 1920 after the survey (see p. 12) has not been carried out. At the time of establishing the Children's Bureau of Cleveland a sum of $10,000 was made available through the Welfare Federation for the construction of a receiving home in connection with one institution but for the common use of all institutions. But the investigation of applica-

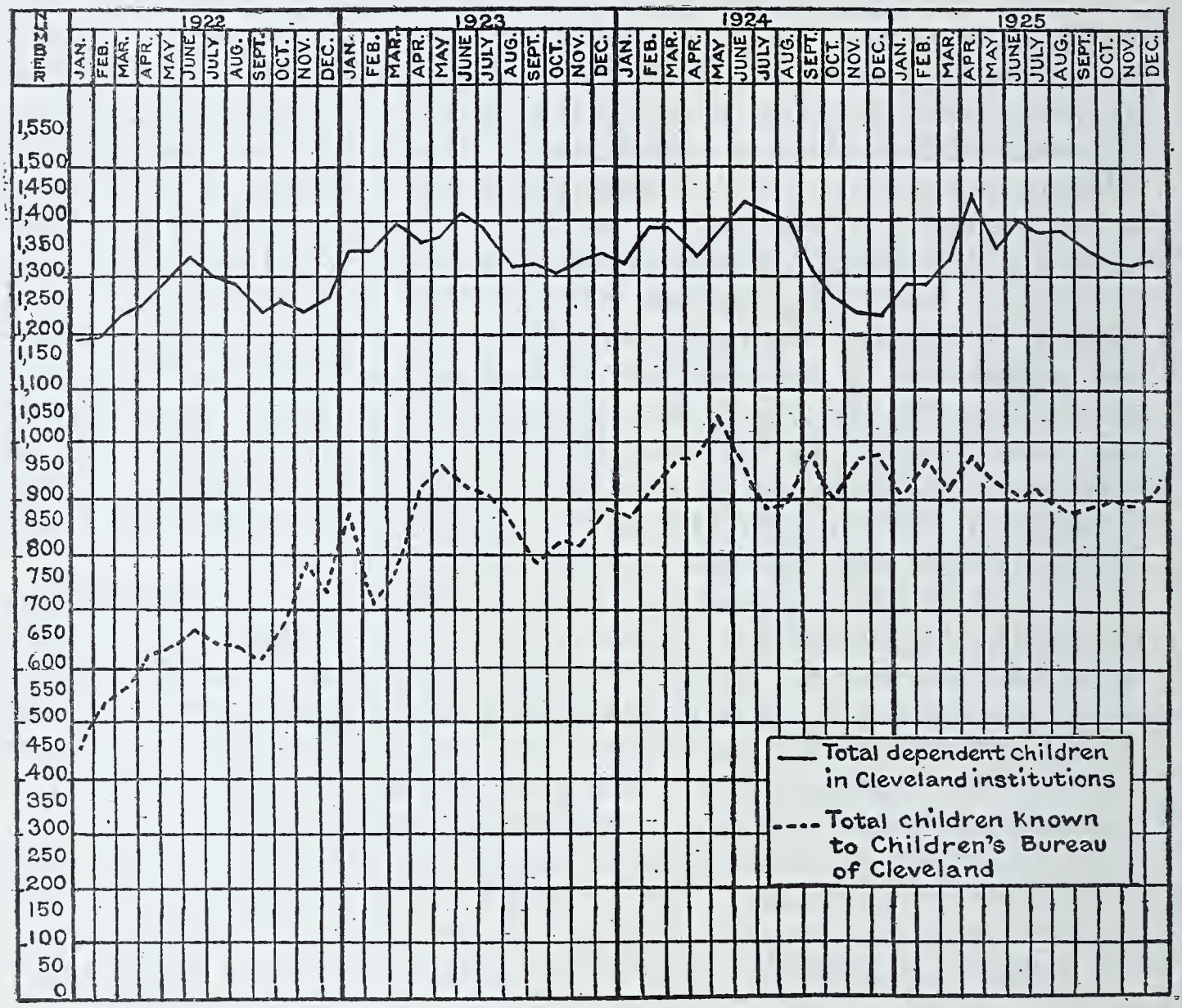
tions for institutional care of children has so reduced the number of children admitted that usually there have been sufficient vacancies in institutions to accommodate those children for whom immediate shelter is necessary while they await further plans for their care. The arrangement made by the Children's Aid Society to assign 20 beds to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland for use as a receiving home has provided satisfactory receiving-home facilities rendering an additional building unnecessary.

Under the guidance of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland the institutions of the city are acquiring a new value in the scheme of child welfare. Gradually the realization has come that dependency alone should not be the basis for institutional care. Institutions should meet special needs of children by offering special service. There is no longer a question of institutional care versus foster-home care, but rather the combination of the two is advisable, and the function of each should be determined by the particular child in need. Those in charge of institutions have realized as never before that their real field is in the whole plan of community care of children. It is no longer a question of sheltering great numbers of children to the glory of the institution; it is rather a question of the individual care the institutions may give the child to the glory of the child himself. This attitude has not come about easily, and moreover it has meant infinite adjustments on the part of the institutions to adapt themselves to the new program. There have been difficulties in the matter of admissions and discharges. It was difficult at first for the institutions to realize that certain applications should be referred directly to a family agency without further investigation by the bureau. This meant learning to discriminate in the applications for admission and to realize that not all applications are of equal importance.

It is interesting to note that as the Children's Bureau of Cleveland has become better known the number of direct applications from families has decreased, while the number of applications for institutional care from social agencies has increased. Such agencies as the associated charities, the health agencies, the humane society, and the juvenile court now can place their most needy children. Instead of long waiting lists and lack of institutional room there are vacancies to-day in nearly all the institutions, and it is possible to place any child as soon as necessary. The time and effort of agencies have been saved by the bureau because it is no longer necessary to communicate with different institutions in order to locate vacancies. The dependent and neglected child coming through the juvenile court is no longer returned to his unfit home or held indefinitely in the detention home. If the bureau is notified before the hearing the child usually can be placed immediately after the judge's decision.

The number of children in Cleveland institutions cooperating with the Cleveland Children's Bureau and the number known to the bureau during the period 1922–1925 are shown in the accompanying chart. The total number of children in Cleveland institutions (exclusive of Jewish children) includes many children from outside Cleveland who are placed in institutions of sectarian or regional character that have responsibility for a larger territory than the city. The children known to the bureau represent practically all

children from the city of Cleveland with the exception of those mentioned. The chart shows some seasonal variation in the number of children in institutions known to the bureau. There is a general tendency toward increase in the population of both types during the first half of the year and a gradual falling off during the second half. This probably is associated with the effort of the bureau to arrange after the close of school for the removal of children no longer in need of institutional care. An interesting feature of the chart is the gradual increase in the number of children known to the bureau. This numerical increase is also a proportional one.[32] The increase in proportional relationship was abrupt during the first two years of the period and subject to considerable variation. This was the period during which the bureau was in process of development and was initiating certain social policies regarding institutional care.



The new policy of making the institution a training center which prepares children physically, mentally, and morally for better adjustment in their own homes, or if necessary in foster homes, has led to an increased turnover in the institutions. The average stay of children in Cleveland institutions to-day is little more than a year, in spite of the fact that one or two institutions with an average stay of five to seven years bring up the average for the community as a whole. The institutions are now serving a greater

[32] Whereas approximately 50 per cent of the children were known to the bureau during the calendar year 1922, 72 per cent of the total population of the institutions were known to the bureau in January to August, 1926.

number of children because their residence is more temporary. This has placed a greater burden on the institutional staff, but they have been more and more willing to make any adjustments possible to better their service to children.

NEW STANDARDS OF INSTITUTIONAL CARE

The standards of care given by the institutions have risen steadily since the establishment of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland. Perhaps the greatest progress has been made in the medical attention that now is within the reach of all children in institutions. Medical examinations and corrective and preventive work are a part of the program of care in most of the institutions. The centralized medical service has meant that even the smallest institution can have the benefit of the most modern medical attention. The Cleveland Nutrition Clinic has served a number of the institutions, and through activities of the bureau's nutrition committee very great improvements in diet have been instituted. Several institutions also have provided more adequate facilities for isolation than formerly. Much more attention is given to dental care through the establishment of a number of dental centers. A better understanding of the care needed by the retarded child, the child of border-line mentality, and the child of difficult behavior has been brought to the institutions by the facilities provided by the Children's Aid Society clinic for study of such cases. In order to reach these children and to provide care commensurate with their need, group tests have been made of all children in most of the institutions, followed by individual tests and study at the Children's Aid Society clinic. Out of this planning for difficult children has grown an intense interest in each individual child entering the institution, and the bureau committee on individualizing the child has issued a record form which will be used by the institutions to study the progress of children during their institutional life.

The bureau provides uniform medical blanks and family-record forms for such institutions as wish to have them, and it stands ready to help in the keeping of better records. Poor records often have meant tragedies in later years for children who have tried to find their family or relatives. The bureau furnishes the institutions with summaries of the histories of all children admitted to them, so that they have complete information in their files concerning the children they accept. Thus institutional records are much more complete than ever before. Perhaps no one factor in the improved standards of care which institutions have adopted since the organization of the bureau is more important than the realization of the necessity of adequate family records for each child. The bureau's careful investigation of applications has demonstrated vividly to the institutions the great importance of family histories in the consideration of plans for the child's best interests. A striking example of this is shown in the regeneration of one institution in Cleveland. This institution had a combined maternity hospital and infant home, and a large percentage of the cases handled were those of unmarried mothers. For years this institution cared for women during confinement, and then accepted the babies for adoption or care in the nursery if the mothers felt they could not take the children with them. The result was,

of course, that almost nothing was known of these children. The cooperation of this institution has developed in a remarkable way until now practically all applications are investigated by the bureau, which has two full-time workers assigned to the work of this institution. Five years' operation of a central bureau of inquiry not only has kept hundreds of children from admission to institutions but has improved the standard of care given to those whose admission was necessary. Institutional life has been greatly enriched through better medical attention, recreation programs, specialized training, and deeper interest in the individual child.

PRESENT NEEDS IN THE COMMUNITY CARE OF CHILDREN

With the promotion of a community-wide program to meet the changing needs of Cleveland's children all institutions and agencies are asked to modify their methods and programs. Not all the needs of children in Cleveland have yet been met; there are still many serious problems ahead. An outstanding problem has been the lack of proper facilities both in institutions and in foster homes to handle properly some of the difficult types of children. An institution designed for normal children should not be asked to take the psychopathic or encephalitic cases, the sex offenders, and other abnormal types; yet if the child's own home is not equipped to handle the problem, finding a new home and financing proper care in it has been very difficult. As the State provides only limited facilities for the care of feeble-minded children there is need for some local provision for emergency cases. The border-line child usually can be placed in the ordinary institution, but some institution or home is still to be developed for care of imbecile children.[33]

Institutional facilities for dependent Catholic boys are limited, there being room for approximately 500 girls but only 250 boys. Furthermore it is much easier to find foster homes for girls than for boys, as relatives frequently are willing to take the girls in a family while the boys are left for the community to provide for. In order to relieve the situation it has been suggested that one of the Catholic institutions now caring for girls make provision to take some of the younger Catholic boys. There is also need for more vocational and manual training for older boys. Some adjustment has been made in two training homes for girls in order that more girls, who must assume the responsibility for the care of younger brothers and sisters and upon whom often rests the only hope of reestablishing the family, can receive a training which will equip them to carry their new responsibilities. This was achieved by raising the minimum age limit for admission to these homes from 12 years to 14 years, inasmuch as other institutions can care adequately for girls up to the age of 14. Delinquent girls of 12 years or under with sex experience also need more adequate institutional care, as they are too young to enter the reformatory class of the only institution giving care to this type of girl, and it is not fair to place them with the normal children of their own age. It has been hoped that one of the in-

[33] In 1925 appropriations were made for two new institutions for the feeble-minded of Ohio, and this probably will make the need for temporary institutional care in Cleveland less acute. (Fourth Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1925, p. 31. [Columbus, 1925.])

stitutions now caring for older delinquent girls would be willing to adjust its work so that the small group of dependent girls at present cared for might be replaced by a group of very young delinquent girls.

Difficulties no less intricate than those relating to institutional care of children have arisen in regard to foster-home placement. The facilities for boarding-home care are by no means adequate to meet the increasing demand. This is due not alone to the raising of standards of child welfare in the community but also to other causes that have been mentioned, such as the normal increase in the population of the city, the influx of southern negroes during the past five years with no provision of institutional care for negro children, and long periods of unemployment beginning with 1920. The boarding-home situation is somewhat different in Cleveland from that in other cities in the respect that almost every dependent child has to be provided for out of private funds, and although some board is paid for from public funds even the supervision of State wards in the city is provided for from private funds.

STATISTICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE DEPENDENCY PROBLEM

FIELD AND METHOD OF STUDY

The study of the records of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland included the new applications received by the bureau for institutional care of children during the two years April 1, 1922, to March 31, 1923, and April 1, 1924, to March 31, 1925. These two years represent the second and fourth years of the bureau's existence and were selected to show the general characteristics of the bureau's work. It was desirable that the report should indicate clearly what a central bureau with a staff of trained workers to make initial investigation of applications was able to do in having parents and other agencies of the community carry their share of responsibility for the needs of children whose application for admission to institutions had been received. It was therefore necessary to exclude certain applications; namely, (1) applications for care of children already in institutions for dependent children, in special institutions for long-time care (such as a hospital for crippled children), or in foster homes under the supervision of a child-placing agency, (2) applications made by the Cleveland Humane Society, associated charities, and other agencies, for the observation of problem children at the Children's Aid Society clinic, (3) applications for the admission of children to summer camps, (4) applications made by the probate court for the investigation of children for adoption.

As this report is concerned with the primary causes of dependency as shown by family conditions making necessary the application for institutional care of children and with the prevention of dependency as shown by the recommendations made by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland for the care of children the information has been grouped according to whether it related mainly to the families or to the children.

The new applications included those accepted for investigation and follow-up by the bureau and those registered by the bureau as "information only," which were referred directly to other agencies or dropped. It seemed advisable to include the information-only applications, since they help to give the complete picture of the demand on the bureau by families in need of care for their children, and they also indicate the bureau's position as a routing agency.

Necessarily the information contained on the information-only applications was not so complete as for those applications which were accepted by the bureau for investigation and follow-up, but most of these records contained practically all the information

needed for the study. The bureau has more and more endeavored to obtain in the first interviews with applicants only such information as will enable it to determine what agency can best handle the situation and thus to avoid the distress of having clients tell their stories to two or three agencies. In connection with the tables, therefore, it should be remembered that where a considerable number of items are "not reported" the lack of information thus indicated usually relates to the information-only applications; but it was also found that information in the case-work records was not always complete, particularly in regard to nationality. The records of 1,416 families with a total of 3,074 children were included in this study—736 families and 1,647 children for the year April 1, 1922, to March 31, 1923, and 680 families with 1,427 children for the year April 1, 1924, to March 31, 1925. The figures for number of families and number of children used in the tables are those for the two specified years combined.

All information secured from the records included in this study was confined to conditions found in the family at the time of first application and the first recommendation made by the bureau for the care of the child or children for whose care application had been made. No items pertaining to the family included in a reapplication or further plans for the care of the children were considered.

Owing to the uniformly high standards for case work and record keeping which have been maintained by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland throughout its existence, the study was based entirely upon data from the bureau records without any follow-up work in connection with the families or institutions or other agencies interested in the cases studied. The generous cooperation of the executive secretary and staff of the bureau and the fact that the study was made at its office—which greatly facilitated the handling of records—made it possible to check up and verify doubtful information as questions arose. The records were read and the schedules filled out by young women all of whom had had experience in social work in Cleveland. Instructions had been carefully worked out so that the information as finally recorded in the schedules was as nearly uniform as possible. The schedule used in the study was so planned as to give the home conditions of the children as reported at the time application was made for their care, previous contacts of social agencies with these families, relation of the child's own family to the application for care, relation between family conditions and the recommendation of the bureau as to the disposition of children, and the cooperation of agencies and institutions in rendering service to children and families. (For the schedule used in the study and the instructions see Appendix B of this report, pp. 92–98.)

FAMILY BACKGROUND OF THE DEPENDENT CHILDREN

NATIVITY OF THE PARENTS

In a city like Cleveland with a high percentage of foreign-born population the nationality of the parents is of interest in a study of child dependency. The race and nativity of the parents of the

families applying to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland for care of their children were as follows:

Race and nativity of parents	Number of families
Total	1,416
White	1,363
Foreign born	506
Native	324
One parent native, other foreign born	144
One parent native, nativity of other not reported	43
One parent foreign born, nativity of other not reported	62
Nativity of neither parent reported	284
Colored	[1] 42
Not reported	11

Color was reported for 1,405 of the 1,416 families; 1,363 were white, and 41 were negro. Nativity was reported for at least 1 parent in 1,079 of the white families. Both parents were foreign born in 47 per cent of the families; at least one parent was foreign born in 19 per cent. The foreign birth of one or both parents thus enters into consideration in at least 66 per cent of the families. If information in regard to nativity of parents had been available for all families this percentage doubtless would have been much larger, but the records studied often lacked definite information on this point.

How serious a cause of dependency the adjustment of foreign people to a new environment may be can not be stated here conclusively. The numbers of children in the families show some interesting contrasts. Of the 324 families in which both parents were native white there were 57 per cent who had only 1 or 2 children; and 52 per cent of these 324 families requested placement of all their children. It would appear that the family ties were not so strong in native white families for whose children provision had to be made by the community as were those in the foreign-born families; for in only 32 per cent of the families were there fewer than 3 children, yet only 34 per cent of these 506 families in which both parents were foreign born requested placement of all their children. A comparison of these two groups in respect to these data raises the question as to the possibilities for rehabilitation of the families. This of course depends also on the marital relation of the parents at the time when the application was made. Of the families in which both parents were foreign born for whom information as to marital status was given 49 per cent were married and living together, 10 per cent were divorced or separated, in 13 per cent one or both parents had deserted, in 26 per cent one or both parents were dead, and in only 1 per cent of these families the parents were unmarried. Of the families in which both parents were native and marital status was reported 31 per cent were married and living together, 26 per cent were divorced or separated, in 21 per cent one or both parents had deserted, in 19 per cent one or both parents were dead, and 3 per cent of these parents were unmarried.

Contact with other agencies before coming to the bureau was shown by Social Service Clearing House records for 88 per cent of the families in which both parents were foreign born and for

[1] Includes one family in which the mother was Indian and the father white.

79 per cent of the families in which both parents were native. Although this difference is only 9 per cent it is of considerable significance. There is also quite a difference in the nature of the trouble that brought these two groups to the attention of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland. For the foreign-born group the outstanding problems among those reporting only one problem were death, 19 per cent; divorce and separation, 7 per cent; desertion, 5 per cent; physical disability, 42 per cent; mental disability, 12 per cent. For the native group the problems were death, 19 per cent; divorce and separation, 23 per cent; desertion, 14 per cent; physical disability, 18 per cent; and mental disability, 5 per cent.

In the light of the problems most pronounced in these two groups of families, one where both the parents are native and one where both the parents are foreign born, there would appear to be a significant difference in causes of dependency. In the native group there seems to be a disintegration of family life as manifested in the percentage of divorce, separation, and desertion—not a very promising foundation on which to preserve a home for the child. In the foreign-born group the situation of families is more hopeful in that the factors causing dependency are much less disastrous to family life though none the less unfortunate. It is probably true too that a better type of family comes to the attention of agencies in the foreign-born group, as in a strange country they have fewer friends and relatives to turn to in distress than the American families have.

Table 1 shows the race and country of birth of the fathers and mothers of the children for whose care application was made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland. As the information in the records of the bureau in regard to country of birth did not invariably relate to the countries as constituted after the World War [2] it is not possible to make an exact comparison of the foreign-born population groups and the race and country of birth of the parents in the families coming to the attention of the bureau. The countries of birth of the foreign-born population of Cleveland were as follows, in the order of numerical importance, for the eight most frequently designated countries: Poland, Hungary, Germany, Russia and Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Jugoslavia, and Austria.[3]

TABLE 1.—*Race and country of birth of the fathers and mothers of children for whose care application was made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland*

Race and country of birth	Fathers	Mothers	Race and country of birth	Fathers	Mothers
Total	1,416	1,416	White—Foreign—Continued.		
			Canada	21	15
White	1,364	1,363	England	17	18
United States	401	435	Ireland	17	18
Foreign	627	591	Rumania	14	12
			Other	85	80
Austria and Hungary	169	186	Not reported	39	44
Italy	104	87			
Poland	66	55	Country not reported	336	337
Germany	33	28	Colored	41	42
Russia	32	20	Race not reported	11	11
Czechoslovakia	30	28			

[2] Since 1925 the Children's Bureau of Cleveland has established the policy of relating birthplaces of foreign born to the countries as constituted after the World War.

[3] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. II, Population, p. 740. Washington, 1922.

Table 2 shows the length of residence in the United States of fathers and mothers of children for whose care application was made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland. A large proportion of records did not give information on length of residence of foreign-born parents in the United States, and the data were inadequate for a study of any relation that might obtain between length of residence of parents and dependency of children. It might be supposed that the longer a foreign-born family was in this country the better its adjustment would be, and therefore the need of help from the community would be diminishing. However, when immigrants arrive in this country young and with small families some years may pass with increasing responsibility and the physical and mental strain of adjustment before a family reaches the point where it must ask for help in the care of its children.

TABLE 2.—*Length of residence in the United States of fathers and mothers of children for whose care application was made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland*

Length of residence in United States	Fathers	Mothers	Length of residence in United States	Fathers	Mothers
Total	1,416	1,416	Foreign born—Continued.		
			In the United States—Contd.		
Native	434	470	10 years and more	285	217
Foreign born	627	591	Number of years not reported	305	300
Never in United States	3	2			
In the United States—			Not reported whether native or foreign born	355	355
Less than 5 years	14	32			
5 years, less than 10	20	40			

Possibly the length of residence of the foreign-born families applying to the bureau for care of their children was analogous in some way to the age of the parents and also to the duration of their marriage. Table 3 shows the ages of the fathers and mothers for care of whose children application was made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland.

TABLE 3.—*Ages of fathers and mothers for care of whose children application was made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland*

Age of parents	Fathers [1]	Mothers [1]	Age of parents	Fathers [1]	Mothers [1]
Total	1,416	1,416	35 years, under 45	380	240
			45 years and over	139	52
Under 20 years		21	Not applicable (parent dead)	155	222
20 years, under 25	35	151	Not reported	347	279
25 years, under 35	360	451			

[1] Own, step, or foster.

Application for the care of the children was requested most frequently when fathers were between the ages of 25 and 45 (18 per cent) and mothers between the ages of 25 and 35 (49 per cent). Few requests came when fathers were under 25 years of age (4 per cent), and in 15 per cent of the cases the fathers were 45 years old and over. The age of the mother, on the other hand, was less than 25 in 19 per cent of the cases; 49 per cent were between 25 and 35,

26 per cent were between 35 and 45, and 6 per cent were 45 years and over.

The duration of marriage of the parents of the children is shown in the following list. In this tabulation all cases were considered applicable in which the marital status of the father and mother was reported as "married" and in which all children were the children of the present marriage. Families with stepchildren or adopted children and families of widowed, divorced, or deserting parents consequently do not appear in the applicable group.

Duration of marriage	Number of families
Total	1,416
Total reporting	316
Less than 2 years	10
2 years, less than 3	10
3 years, less than 5	17
5 years, less than 10	75
10 years and more	204
Not reported	112
Inapplicable	988

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE PARENTS

In view of the fact that the Children's Bureau of Cleveland represents all the Catholic and Protestant institutions of the city, it was advisable to ascertain the religious belief of parents in order to know whether the children should be assigned to Catholic or Protestant institutions when accepted for care. The total capacity of Catholic institutions is about three times as great as that of the Protestant institutions, and therefore the former can accommodate the greater number of children assigned to them.

As the institutions for Jewish children do not use the services of the bureau for investigations, any applications for the care of Jewish children received were referred directly to the Welfare Association for Jewish Children. The religious affiliations of the parents of children for whose care application was made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland were as follows:

Religious affiliation of parents	Number of families
Total	1,416
Catholic	844
Protestant	467
Jewish	9
Not reported	96

SOURCES OF APPLICATIONS FOR CARE OF THE DEPENDENT CHILDREN

The sources of applications received by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland furnish an interesting index of the channels through which child dependency becomes known to the community, and they indicate the importance of a clearing bureau as a center through which these numerous channels can converge, making it possible in this way to know the entire problem of dependency in a community.

Applications made to the bureau may be divided into two groups as to source: Those made by the family or friends, representing 43 per cent of all applications; and those made by some social agency

(including institutions), representing 51 per cent. Where the family made the application the mother was the one who made the contact with the bureau in most cases. This did not always mean that the father was no longer in the home; in fact where the mother made the application there generally was a need for family adjustment, and consequently most of these applications were not accepted by the bureau but were referred directly to family agencies for care. When application was made by the father, relatives, or friends, it was found usually that the family was broken by the death of the mother; and this presented a situation that made it more difficult to hold the family together. Hence the bureau accepted more of these applications for investigation and recommendation.

Many of the applications made by the families had been made originally to an institution and from there referred to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland.

Of the applications made by the family or friends 49 per cent were accepted by the bureau for investigation and recommendation for care, whereas of the applications made through an agency 89 per cent were accepted. The large percentage of the latter applications accepted is probably due to the present understanding that the bureau has with other social agencies of Cleveland in regard to the children acceptable for institutional care. The bureau in cooperation with the institutions has gradually developed a policy on the nature of institutional care that has emphasized the needs of certain children for temporary care and special training. The agencies for the most part were seeking temporary placement of children. The mother's need of hospital care was the reason most frequently given by agencies. This was particularly true of the applications made by the associated charities. Table 4 shows the source of application for care of children made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland and the acceptance and nonacceptance of the applications.

TABLE 4.—*Sources of application for care of children made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, by acceptance and nonacceptance of applications*

Source of application	Total	Applications for care	
		Accepted	Not accepted
Total	1,416	1,007	409
Total reported by—			
Family and friends	599	295	304
Both parents	11	5	6
Father	145	98	47
Mother	351	129	222
Relatives	60	41	19
Friends	32	22	10
Agencies	635	564	71
Health agencies	145	125	20
Catholic Charities Bureau	136	117	19
Cleveland Associated Charities	131	119	12
Cleveland Humane Society	83	79	4
Juvenile court	63	63	----
Other agencies	77	61	16
Institutions	77	65	12
Other	96	78	18
Not reported	9	5	4

Applications indicated as made by institutions were made for the most part by the family or friends but were referred to the bureau in such a way that it was not clear what person had actually made application. Two institutions in a few instances had accepted children in emergencies and then asked for investigation.

In 1922–23 there were 587 applications accepted, and in 1924–25 there were 420 applications accepted. The decrease was due not to fewer applications for care but to the fact that through better understanding on the part of institutions the bureau was able to refer more applicants to family agencies equipped to aid parents in keeping their children with them. Applications not accepted increased. In 1922–23 there were 149 rejected; in 1924–25 there were 260 rejected.

WHEREABOUTS OF FATHER AND MOTHER AT TIME OF APPLICATION

Table 5 shows the whereabouts of the mothers and fathers of the children for whose care application was made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland. It will be noted that among the 1,416 families there were only 324 in which the father and mother were together in their own home at the time when application was made for the care of their children. For a large number of these families temporary care of the children was requested while the mother went to the hospital, and several children presenting some particular problem came from these homes. Other items in this table help to give a vivid picture of the scattered membership that makes the care of dependent children difficult.

TABLE 5.—*Whereabouts of mothers at date of application for care of children referred to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, by whereabouts of fathers on the same date*

Whereabouts of mother	Total families	Whereabouts of father							
		At home	Boarding or living with relatives or friends	Dead	In correctional institution	In general hospital or sanatorium for tuberculosis	In hospital for insane	Other	Absent from family[1]
Total	1,416	607	175	154	36	16	12	6	410
At home	640	324	35	62	18	6	10	3	182
Boarding or living with relatives or friends	242	25	46	31	6	2	1	2	129
Dead	221	108	49	36	7				21
In correctional institution	23	4	3	3	2	2			9
In general hospital or sanatorium for tuberculosis	138	92	8	10	2	4			22
In hospital for insane	16	9				2			5
Living at place of employment (domestic service)	25	1	5	9					10
Other	10	4	2						4
Absent from family[1]	101	40	27	3	1		1	1	28

[1] Not otherwise specified.

The marital status of the parents, which is of interest in this connection, is shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6.—*Marital status of parents of children referred for care to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, by whereabouts of father at the date of application for care*

Marital status of parents	Total families	Whereabouts of father							
		At home	Boarding or living with relatives or friends	Dead	In correctional institution	In general hospital or sanatorium for tuberculosis	In hospital for the insane	Other	Absent from family [1]
Total	1,416	607	175	154	36	16	12	6	410
Total reported	1,385	607	174	154	35	16	11	6	382
Married	532	430	25	------	26	15	11	------	25
Separated	130	17	50	------	------	------	------	------	63
Divorced	104	10	29	------	2	------	------	5	58
Mother dead	185	108	49	------	7	------	------	------	21
Father dead	118	------	------	118	------	------	------	------	------
Both parents dead	36	------	------	36	------	------	------	------	------
Father deserting	177	------	5	------	------	------	------	------	172
Mother deserting	64	40	15	------	------	------	------	------	9
Unmarried	39	2	1	------	------	1	------	1	34
Not reported	31	------	1	------	1	------	1	------	28

[1] Not otherwise specified.

REASONS FOR MAKING APPLICATION

Table 7 shows the reasons given for requesting aid in care of children given by the individual or agency at the time application was made. The information in this table is based on the reasons as given by the family or the agency referring the family, although of course the reasons were stated in many different ways. For the most part the immediate reason for requesting aid was given by the applicant. When more than one reason was given the order (1) death, (2) illness, (3) desertion was used in classifying them. For instance, if the reason stated was "mother dead, father unable to keep children together," this was tabulated as "mother dead." It was found that death was in the majority of cases the immediate reason given, even if not the emergency necessitating the application for care of the children. Some mothers in such cases had been dead as long a time as two years, though in most of them the mother's death had occurred very recently.

Still other examples may be given: The reason given as "mother tuberculous, no one to care for children," was tabulated as "mother ill." The reason given as "mother deserted, no one to care for children," was tabulated as "mother deserted." The reason given as "grandmother moved away, no one to care for child," was tabulated as "no caretaker." Such cases as the last of these three examples included primarily those children who were not with their immediate families when the difficulties arose that necessitated the application for their care by the community.

Death and illness (including both physical and mental disability) are the only reasons shown in Table 7 that in any measure indicate the fundamental nature of the family need to place the children. The other reasons are primarily an indication of emergencies that

upon investigation reveal the undermining of the home by death, illness, desertion, divorce and separation, or lack of parental responsibility.

The Children's Bureau of Cleveland accepted 533 (81 per cent) of the 662 applications in connection with which death, illness, or desertion was given as the reason necessitating the application for aid; it did not accept 129 (19 per cent) of this total. It accepted 470 (63 per cent) of the cases in which reasons other than death, illness, or desertion were given for application for aid; and it did not accept 275 (37 per cent) of them.

Under "other reasons" in Table 7 are included the cases of 14 families in which it was evident that the illegitimacy of the child was the real reason for requesting aid, 16 families in which the mother's immorality was the reason, 22 families in which one or both parents were in correctional institutions, and 50 families in which the parents were separated or divorced—although other reasons than these were given.

TABLE 7.—*Reasons for requesting aid in care of children reported to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, by acceptance and nonacceptance of applications*

Reason for requesting aid	Applications for care		
	Total	Accepted	Not accepted
Total	1,416	1,007	409
Total reported	1,407	1,003	404
Death	134	112	22
Father	20	12	8
Mother	102	89	13
Both parents	10	9	1
Caretaker other than parent	2	2	----
Illness, physical or mental disability	413	345	68
Father	16	11	5
Mother	334	288	46
Both parents	12	10	2
Child	51	36	15
Desertion	115	76	39
Father	70	45	25
Mother	44	30	14
Both parents	1	1	----
Mother working or intending to work	201	85	116
Child in need of discipline	88	67	21
Relatives or friends unable or unwilling to keep longer	87	58	29
No caretaker	61	42	19
Home conditions unsatisfactory (including neglect and cruelty)	109	93	16
Boarding home unsatisfactory	26	15	11
Other reasons	173	110	63
Not reported	9	4	5

Illness was given as the immediate reason in 29 per cent of the applications for care of children outside their homes. In 24 per cent the reason given was the illness of mother. An analysis of the nature of the illness brings out some interesting facts: There were 78 women in need of an operation, 53 were confined, 50 had tuberculosis and were receiving treatment, and 58 were ill from other

causes. The kind of illness was not reported for 44 women. Cases of mental disability included 36 women diagnosed as insane and 15 who were either feeble-minded or epileptic.

Death of parents or other caretaker was given as an immediate reason in the case of only 134 (10 per cent) of the families for whom aid was requested; and, as would be expected, the death was that of the mother in 76 per cent of the cases in which death was given as the main reason for placement of children outside their own homes.

It is interesting to note the difference in the number of applications accepted by the bureau in cases where death of mother was reported and those where death of father was reported. Families in which the mother is living usually can be provided for through a family agency, if it functions well, through the mothers' pensions department of the juvenile court, or through arrangements for care of children at a day nursery. The solution for keeping together a family in which the father is left with a flock of little children is still to be found.[4] Death of both parents appears to be only a small factor in causing the dependency of children.

Only slightly less serious a problem than death is that of desertion, which causes 8 per cent of the immediate reasons for requesting placement of children outside their own homes. Desertion is closely allied to separation and divorce and constitutes a problem requiring great skill in rebuilding the home for the child. These three are signals of distress rather than the distress itself which is destroying the family life.

The families (754) for which other reasons than death, desertion, or illness were given represent mostly those in which the home situation was much more complicated. The immediate reason "mother working or intending to work" was given in 201 (14 per cent) of the applications. The records showed that divorce, separation, desertion, and nonsupport were fundamental factors in these family situations, although they were not given as the emergency cause of application. The impression given is of families lacking a well-developed sense of responsibility for the maintenance of a home and the proper care of their children. As an illustration of the general caliber of these families the following history of one family is given:

A woman 30 years old applied at the Children's Bureau of Cleveland for institutional care of her 5-year-old boy. She stated that she was divorced from her husband, who was 38 years old. The divorce had been mutually agreed upon when she had become pregnant as her husband had not wanted any children. After their divorce she had gone to live with her mother and had taken a bookkeeping position. The grandmother had looked after the boy until recently she felt she could do it no longer. Since the birth of the baby the father has become very fond of him and the mother, who still cares for her former husband, hopes that she may remarry him, but in the meanwhile she feels that she will have to place their son. She had supposed that institutional

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[4] Perhaps the Jewish Welfare Society of Philadelphia, which has organized a staff of visiting housekeepers, is approaching a solution for this problem. These women, carefully chosen and trained by the society, go into homes every day in time to give the children breakfast and get them off to school. The care of the children, the preparation of meals, keeping the house in order, and the care of the mother if she is ill at home, are taken over by these women. They give the children the evening meal and stay until the father returns from work. See "The visiting housekeeper," by Salome S. C. Bernstein, in The Jewish Social Service Quarterly, vol. 2, no. 1 (May, 1925), pp. 10–21.

care of children was all that was available but preferred foster-home care when this was suggested to her. Through the Cleveland Humane Society the little boy was placed in a licensed boarding home where the mother paid for him.

The history of this family indicates a curious irresponsibility on the part of the parents in their attitude toward the obligations that marriage entails. A situation of this character makes the rehabilitation of a child's own home much more difficult than in a family where placement is made necessary by the mother's illness.

The bureau's policy of turning many of these cases over to a family agency for adjustment unless other conditions made it necessary to place the children is being more and more carefully followed. In the year 1922–23 a total of 98 applications were made by mothers who were working or intended to go to work, and 57 were accepted by the bureau, 41 being referred elsewhere. In the year 1924–25 the situation was very different; only 28 of the total of 103 applications made by mothers working or intending to work were accepted, 75 being referred elsewhere. This indicates that such families are recognized as needing family readjustments rather than the placing of children.

When "child in need of discipline" was given as the reason for requesting aid, this, in fact, was only a surface indication of the real trouble in the home, which frequently involved the absence of the father from home through death or separation and divorce, and also abusive treatment by one parent or the other. When "no caretaker" was given as a reason necessitating placement of children, the absence of the mother through death, illness, or working away from home during the day usually caused this need. When "relatives or friends unable or unwilling to keep longer" was given as a reason for requesting aid, this, again, was but an indication of homes broken for other reasons. Many relatives grow impatient with the necessity of carrying responsibility not theirs, or grandparents become old and find it too difficult longer to control children whose parents have failed to carry the responsibility for them.

Placement of the child for families reported as having only one child was asked in 27 per cent of the cases because the mother was working or wished to work. Illegitimacy of the child, which implies that the mother is entirely responsible for support, was not an acknowledged reason for asking placement in the case of these families. In families having more than one child the illness of the mother was the most frequent reason for requesting aid in placement of the children.

Where the reason aid was requested was "unsatisfactory home conditions" this group of families very often was found to have been known to the juvenile court for neglect of children through immorality of the mother, abuse by parents, or poor family environment—conditions that on the whole give only a very slight margin for reshaping the family life to the needs of the children.

CONDITIONS OF FAMILY LIFE THAT LED TO MAKING THE APPLICATIONS

In contrast to Table 7, which shows the reasons given for requesting the placement of children, Table 8 shows the actual conditions brought to light by the careful investigation of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland. A comparison of these two tables suggests how the conditions more fundamental to the dependency of the children are concealed consciously or unconsciously by persons seeking institutional care of children and indicates the necessity for thoroughgoing social investigation of all applications for admission of children.

TABLE 8.—*Conditions contributing to dependency of children at time of application to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland for care of children, by number of conditions contributing to dependency found in families*

Conditions contributing to dependency of children	Number of conditions contributing to dependency found in families		
	Total	One condition	Two or more conditions
Illness or physical disability	471	197	274
Death	304	110	194
Desertion	235	66	169
Mental disability	228	52	176
Inadequate income	215	7	208
Neglect	163	13	150
Sex immorality	124	7	117
Intemperance	120	4	116
Separation	119	41	78
Divorce	101	37	64
Incorrigible child	99	20	79
Imprisonment	51	11	40
Illegitimacy	51	15	36
Delinquent child	32	2	30
Problem child	31	7	24
Other	231	43	188

The number of difficulties confronting the families at the time of application for the care of their children appears in Table 9. Although only one major difficulty was reported for 632 of the families applying for aid, there were 512 families in which two difficulties entered into the need for placement of children, and 193 families in which there were three. For the remaining 79 families four or more adverse conditions had contributed to the breakdown of family life. It is of considerable interest to note the unfavorable conditions that often occurred together. In families having but two main causes for dependency physical disability was most often coincident with inadequate income, mental disability, death, or desertion. Death often was associated with physical disability of remaining parent, neglected or difficult children, and inadequate income. With divorce and separation are found inadequate income and sex immorality, also ill health. Desertion is accompanied frequently by ill health and lack of sufficient income. In most cases insufficient income was one of the contributing factors.

TABLE 9.—*Number of conditions found in families, at time of application for care of children referred to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, by acceptance and nonacceptance of applications*

Number of conditions found in family	Applications for care		
	Total	Accepted	Not accepted
Total	1,416	1,007	409
One	632	418	214
Two	512	355	157
Three	193	164	29
Four	61	52	9
Five or more	18	18	----

How great a part the financial resources of these families as reflected in the employment or unemployment of father or mother played in the dependency of their children can not be stated definitely. The scattered information on family resources and occupation of parents contained in the records of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland did not furnish sufficient data to show the direct influence of unemployment on child dependency. From the general information, however, unemployment due to industrial depression did not appear as an acute problem in the dependency of these children. Possibly the long period of unemployment, which began in 1920 and lasted into 1922 in Cleveland, started in these families the disintegrating forces reflected in ill health, desertion, and the need of the mother to go to work. The problem of unemployment as the chief cause for the destitution of families should be met by family agencies such as the associated charities, and consequently it would be a less direct problem for an agency particularly interested in the care of dependent children. Though the industrial depression was felt in Cleveland early in 1920 it was 17 months after general unemployment started that the high peak of relief to these families was given by the Cleveland Associated Charities. This indicates that a long period of hardship and uncertainty elapsed before these families of very limited surplus sought public relief. The most serious feature of unemployment is its effect on family morale: The father is idle about the house, unsettled, disheartened; the mother goes out to work if she can find work, consuming all her strength in the double task of providing for the family's maintenance and caring for the household and the children; the children suffer from depression and uncertainty as to the future, which is even more to be dreaded than the discomforts of the immediate present.[5]

In many of the families applying for institutional care of their children the lack of family unity and responsibility was the most serious obstacle to the rehabilitation of the family home for the child, and this may be not distantly related to the question of economic struggle during periods of unemployment. Especially might this

[5] Unemployment and Child Welfare; a study made in a middle-western and an eastern city during the industrial depression of 1921 and 1922, by Emma O. Lundberg, p. 3. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 125. Washington, 1923.

be true in an industrial city like Cleveland. The fact that so large a number of these families were known to the associated charities before making application to institutions is of interest too in this connection. Certainly unemployment has a direct bearing on the support of children accepted for care, and inability to help to support one's own children has a direct influence on the breakdown of family life.

The records of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland indicate that during the two years covered by the study intemperance was not one of the great problems related to the dependency of children. Intemperance was shown to be the factor contributing to dependency in only 4 of the 632 families that had but one contributing condition. But it was demonstrated as a contributing condition in 120 (15 per cent) of the 784 families in which more than one condition contributed to dependency.

NUMBER AND WHEREABOUTS OF CHILDREN IN FAMILIES

Table 10 shows the number of children in families and their whereabouts at the time of the application for their care. It is noteworthy that 337 (24 per cent) of the families had but one child. In 225 of all the families with one child this child was under 7 years of age at the time application was made. In 244 of the 337 families the child was with one or both parents. What then were the conditions in these homes that made it impossible for the families to solve the problem of their one child's care without community aid? Some explanation may be found in the marital status of this group, inasmuch as 33 per cent were separated, divorced, or unmarried, and 21 per cent had deserted. In fact 21 per cent of all the desertion recorded was found in this group; yet this group represents only 18 per cent of the total number of families for whom marital status was reported. Marital status was reported in 83 of the 91 one-child families where the child was not with either parent. In 11 (13 per cent) of these 83 families the parents were married and living together, in 32 (39 per cent) they were divorced, separated, or unmarried, in 31 (37 per cent) one or both parents were dead, and in 9 (11 per cent) one parent had deserted.

Other social agencies had known 68 per cent of the families in which the child was with one or both parents before application was made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, but only 30 per cent of these families made their application through an agency or institution. The application was made by the mother of the child in 43 per cent of the requests. The reason for requesting aid was illness of mother in 38 families, mother working or intending to work in 81 families, and child in need of discipline in 18 families.

TABLE 10.—*Number and whereabouts of children who were members of families for care of whose children application was made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland*

Number of children in family	Number of families	Whereabouts of children			
		With one or both parents		Not with parents	Unknown for one or more
		All children	Some children		
Total	1,416	892	192	256	76
One	337	244	----------	91	2
Two	331	232	34	56	9
Three	286	165	47	52	22
Four	195	108	43	31	13
Five	120	65	28	15	12
Six	80	47	16	8	9
Seven	39	21	12	3	3
Eight or more	28	10	12	----------	6

If these 244 families had made their application directly to an institution in the absence of a central bureau of investigation a large percentage might have been relieved of a responsibility that could make for stability and development. As it was, the Children's Bureau of Cleveland accepted the applications of only 138 of these families, and 106 families were referred directly to other agencies or dropped when the evidence did not warrant action by the bureau or when the applicants made their own plans.

RELATION OF ILLEGITIMACY TO APPLICATION FOR CARE OF CHILDREN

The Children's Bureau of Cleveland deals with two groups of children born out of wedlock: (1) Those who have been relinquished for adoption, and (2) those who though not relinquished for adoption nevertheless are in need of community care. In this study only the second group, consisting of 90 families, is considered. Therefore illegitimacy of children as a factor in their dependency is shown only to a very limited extent in this study. The reasons for this are: 1. Most institutions do not take children under 3 years of age, yet it is under this age that a child's illegitimacy is most likely to come to the attention of institutions and agencies. 2. Most institutions that care for children born out of wedlock are primarily maternity homes; hence unmarried mothers enter them for confinement care, and when they are ready to go away the children are placed in the nursery. As such children were already in the institution before a report was sent to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland they were not included in the study. (See p. 40.) 3. The Cleveland Humane Society has a special department for unmarried mothers (see p. 74), and most of the children born out of wedlock who are in need of community care receive attention from this department.

Table 11 shows the legitimacy of the children in families where application for care of children was made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland. Though there were but 90 families in which one or more children had been born out of wedlock the recommendations made for the care of these children considered by the bureau are of interest. In these 90 families there were 215 children, 113 of whom had been born out of wedlock. Many of these children were not in the homes when the families became known to the bureau; and in most of these families disintegration through divorce and separation, desertion, immorality, and death had been going on for some years. The records contained very little or no information in regard to the fathers. In 46 of the 74 families in which only one child had been born out of wedlock the illegitimate child was the only child in the family; in 34 of this number the mother had never been legally married, and in 12 the mother had previously been married. In the remaining 28 families of the 74 there were children of legitimate birth also. The 34 families in which the mother had not been married presented the most difficult problem as the mother's reluctance to have the fact of her child's birth known to relatives or friends complicated the adjustment. Fifteen of these families were referred directly to the Cleveland Humane Society to be cared for through its department for unmarried mothers; 10 of the 15 families had previously been known to the society, but the remaining 5 had had no contact with any agency other than the hospital where confinement took place. The bureau recommended the children of 7 of the remaining 19 families for care in an institution and supervised the children in 6 others in their own homes or arranged for care in a day nursery. The remaining 6 families made their own plans before the bureau completed its investigation.

TABLE 11.—*Legitimacy of children in families for whom application for care of children was made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, by acceptance and nonacceptance of applications*

Legitimacy of child	Applications for care		
	Total	Accepted	Not accepted
Total	1,416	1,007	409
All children born in wedlock	1,326	939	387
One or more children born out of wedlock	90	68	22
One child	74	54	20
Two children or more	16	14	2

In the 12 families where the mother had formerly been married the family had been disrupted by divorce, separation, and desertion of the husband for some time before application for care of the children was made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland. It was not the fact of illegitimacy that brought these families for help, but rather a sudden emergency. In regard to 5 of these families the bureau took no action, as it was deemed unnecessary; the family

made its own plans or an agency continued supervision. The bureau placed three children in the remaining seven families in institutions; one was placed with relatives, two were referred to other organizations, and the disposition of the seventh child had not yet been determined.

Only 10 of the 28 families in which there were one or more children of legitimate birth as well as the one child of illegitimate birth made application to the bureau for care of the child of illegitimate birth. Four of these families were referred directly to the humane society, and two families were referred to other agencies without further action by the bureau. The bureau investigated the four remaining families and made the following recommendations as to care: One family was referred to an institution for the care of the child for whom application was made, one family was referred to the associated charities, the child of the third family was returned to his own home from a home in which the mother had placed him for adoption, and supervision of the child in the fourth family in his own home was undertaken by the bureau.

Seven families of the 28 made application to the bureau for the care of both legitimate and illegitimate children, and illegitimacy was not a reason for making application to the bureau. One application was not considered, as care was asked only in case a specified emergency should arise. Two of the six remaining children born out of wedlock for whose care application was made were referred to the humane society for foster-home care, one was sent to a hospital, one needed observation and temporary institutional care, one was placed with friends, and the recommendation for care of the sixth child was delayed pending further investigation.

It is noteworthy that for none of the 11 remaining families of the 28 in which one child was of illegitimate birth and the others born in wedlock was care requested for the illegitimate child in the family. In nine families the child of illegitimate birth was not a member of the family group at the time when application was made, seven children being with relatives, one in an adoptive home, and one boarding away from home.

In the 16 families in which there were two or more children of illegitimate birth there were 57 children, 39 of whom were illegitimate. In eight of these all the children were of illegitimate birth, and in these families the fact of illegitimacy had no direct bearing on the application for care. In the families in which all children were illegitimate there usually had been a common-law marriage, and the conditions necessitating care of the children outside of their own homes were such as might occur in families where the parents had been legally married. In the other eight families with two or more illegitimate children the fact of illegitimacy had no bearing on the application for care, as the application was made for legitimate children in these families as well as for those born out of wedlock. In fact seven children born out of wedlock in these families had been provided for already in other homes (adoptive, relatives', and humane-society boarding homes) so that there was no question of their care by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland.

STATUS OF THE CHILDREN IN THE FAMILIES

Table 12 shows the status of the children in relation to the family. A study of the make-up of families containing stepchildren does not reveal any ground for believing that the presence of a stepchild or stepchildren in the home is of itself a cause of dependency. It is interesting, however, that in the two groups—one numbering 120 families with stepchildren and own children, the other numbering 108 familes with stepchildren only—there is quite a difference in the reasons for requesting aid. In the group including stepchildren and own children the illness of the mother was the greatest single cause for requesting institutional care of children, whereas in the families including only stepchildren the desire of the mother to go to work was the greatest single cause. More families with stepchildren only had children in need of discipline (14 per cent) than the families including both own children and stepchildren (8 per cent). Fifty-four per cent of the families having only stepchildren requested placement of all the children, whereas only 9 per cent of the families having both own children and stepchildren requested placement of all children. Divorce, separation, and desertion were relatively more frequent (23 per cent) in the families having stepchildren than in the total number of families (17 per cent). The total number of children in the 120 families with stepchildren and own children was 499; the number of children in the 108 families with stepchildren only was only 264.

TABLE 12.—*Relationship of parents and children in families for care of whose children application was made to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, by acceptance and nonacceptance of applications*

Relationship of parents and children	Applications for care		
	Total	Accepted	Not accepted
Total families	1,416	1,007	409
Families with—			
Own children only	1,129	785	344
Own children and stepchildren	120	98	22
Stepchildren only	108	80	28
Children of father	68	49	19
Children of mother	24	21	3
Children of each parent	16	10	6
Children of unmarried mothers	42	30	12
Adopted children [1]	17	14	3

[1] Includes 4 families with own or stepchildren also.

SOCIAL AGENCIES TO WHICH THE FAMILIES WERE KNOWN

Table 13 shows the social agencies to which families were known prior to the time of application to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland. It will be noted that comparatively few families were known to the Catholic Charities Bureau. This is explained by the fact that this bureau does not deal primarily with families, but deals

with Catholic institutions and organizations. Likewise the American National Red Cross, although it does family work, extends care in Cleveland to a special class of families; hence there would be studied in this report only a very small number of families that had been known previously to that organization. The mothers' pensions department of the juvenile court, having very limited appropriations, is unable to give extensive service, and this accounts for the small number of families that had been known to that department.

TABLE 13.—*Social agencies to which families were known prior to application to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland for care of their children, by acceptance and nonacceptance of applications*

Agencies to which families were known	Applications for care		
	Total	Accepted	Not accepted
Medical agencies (clinics, dispensaries, hospitals)	1,072	830	242
Cleveland Associated Charities	614	440	174
Cleveland Humane Society	435	320	115
Juvenile court	316	260	56
Legal Aid Society	266	194	72
Institutions	250	210	40
Outdoor relief	187	153	34
Probation office and bureau of domestic relations	102	60	42
American Red Cross	79	56	23
Catholic Charities Bureau	79	70	9
Mothers' pensions department of juvenile court	70	53	17
Other agencies	614	461	153

This table suggests the troubled existence of these families before they were referred to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland for institutional care for some or all of their children. The community medical facilities (hospitals, clinics, and dispensaries) had given some service to 76 per cent of the families. Forty-three per cent were known to the Cleveland Associated Charities—which does not always mean that material relief was given, as a large part of the work of the associated charities consists of family adjustment not requiring relief. Thirty per cent had been known to the humane society. Thirty-two per cent had had some contact with the juvenile court either through delinquency of some child or on charges of neglect but not through the mothers' pensions department of that court.

Table 14 shows the number of agencies to which the families were known prior to application to the bureau. The application was made by the family or friends for 64 per cent of the families not known to any agency before the application to the bureau, but for only 27 per cent of the families previously known to six or more agencies.

TABLE 14.—*Number of agencies to which families were known prior to application to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland for care of children, by acceptance and nonacceptance of applications*

Number of agencies to which families were known	Applications for care		
	Total	Accepted	Not accepted
Total	1,416	1,007	409
None	254	154	100
One	180	114	66
Two	190	141	49
Three	160	112	48
Four	134	98	36
Five	112	81	31
Six, less than ten	280	215	65
Ten or more	102	88	14
Not reported	4	4	----

THE DEPENDENT CHILDREN

The transition from the background of child dependency as shown in the study of families to the children in those families and the care that was recommended for them leads to one of the most hopeful chapters written so far in the history of provision for dependent children. It must be remembered that the chief function of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland is to serve as a center of investigation of applications for the admission of children to institutions, and it necessarily follows that those referring families are seeking institutional placement of some or all of the children in those families. To understand the important part that institutions play in the popular conception of child welfare it is very necessary to consider the great number of children whose care was asked for in the two years which this study covers. Owing to the lack of unity of interest on the part of institutions and other social agencies in the community many children during the first years of the bureau's organization were accepted for institutional placement contrary to the recommendation of the bureau, but as the decision on admission was left entirely to the institutions this could not be avoided until a finer interplay of service had been worked out between institutions and other agencies.

SELECTION OF CHILDREN TO BE CONSIDERED FOR CARE

In considering the family group all children were included except those who had died or been married previous to the date of application. This does not mean that all the children were actually residing with one or both parents when the application was made, for any child who was in a relative's home or in a hospital or an institution at the time application was made was included whenever the child was still considered a unit of the family group. The children of greatest interest in this study are: (1) Those for whom the original application for care was made and (2) other children

in the family whom the investigation of the bureau indicated to be in need of care. These two groups of children have been termed "case children." The remaining children who were members of the families have been termed "noncase children." In this section special attention is given to the case children. In the 1,416 families there were 4,236 children; and of these 3,074 were case children and 1,162 were noncase children. The 726 case children in families the application for whom was not accepted by the bureau are included because though no intensive study was made of these families a recommendation for the care of the child was made nevertheless. These children were planned for as truly as were those in families in regard to whom applications were accepted, but the agencies equipped to give them the best care were called upon to make the initial investigation and to plan for them.

The action taken by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland in regard to the applications for the care of case children is shown in Table 15. Only 27 per cent of the 3,074 children for whom institutional care was sought were found to be in need of care in an institution for dependent children; and 3 per cent were in need of care in special institutions. This indicates the great value of adequate diagnosis before placement.

Twenty-three per cent of the children were in families referred to a family agency for care. Those families whose applications immediately indicated the kind of care needed for the children or which had had a previous contact with a family agency were referred directly to the agency. The great number of families whose applications were not accepted by the children's bureau but who were referred to other agencies for assistance is an indication of the cooperation of agencies which Cleveland has achieved. The use of the Social Service Clearing House in getting the records of families and a competent receiving secretary who makes the first contact with the applicant are the greatest factors in determining which applications will be accepted and which should be referred to another agency. In the first year studied (1922–23) 203 children in families whose applications had been accepted were referred to family agencies, and 145 children in families whose application was not accepted; in the second year studied (1924–25) there were only 106 children in families whose applications were accepted and 267 children in families referred directly to family agencies without acceptance by the children's bureau. Acceptance of an application meant that the bureau would make the initial investigation or accept an investigation made by a referring agency and make its recommendation for care accordingly. It therefore happens that the children recommended to the care of a family agency after investigation are from families where a different disposition may have been recommended for other children in the family; this is not true of those children in families referred directly to a family agency.

TABLE 15.—*Action taken in cases of children considered for care by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, by acceptance or nonacceptance for care*

Action by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland	Children considered for care		
	Total	Accepted	Not accepted
Total	3,074	2,348	726
Total reported	3,069	2,346	723
Action taken	2,305	1,727	578
Referred to institutions	911	910	1
For dependents	816	815	1
For mental diagnosis	33	33	----
For the tuberculous	24	24	----
For the physically disabled	14	14	----
For general medical care	13	13	----
For delinquents	8	8	----
For the feeble-minded	3	3	----
Referred to family agencies	721	309	412
Associated charities	681	293	388
Other	40	16	24
Referred to placing agencies	320	189	131
Humane society	311	188	123
Other	9	1	8
Referred to other agencies	58	35	23
Supervised without removal	161	155	6
Placed with relatives	91	90	1
Other	43	39	4
No action taken	685	542	143
No investigation	131	29	102
Consideration showed no need	554	513	41
Original situation indicated no need	231	223	8
Situation changed during period of consideration	323	290	33
Child's family, relatives, or friends made adjustments	255	238	17
Other agency continued or resumed supervision	68	52	16
Action pending	79	77	2
Not reported	5	2	3

Foster-home care was recommended for 10 per cent of all children who were considered for care by the bureau, and practically all the families with these children were referred to the Cleveland Humane Society. Some of the families comprised an unmarried mother and her child, and often it was not a case of placing the child but rather of working out with the mother a plan to keep her baby. (The humane society has a special department for the care of the unmarried mother. (See p. 74.) What has been said in regard to the number of children finally recommended to family agencies in families whose application was accepted and those in families whose application was not accepted is also true of those referred to the care of the placing agencies. In the first year studied (1922–23) there were 122 children in families whose applications were accepted and later referred to placing agencies, and 52 in families referred directly to the placing agencies; in the second year studied (1924–25)

there were only 67 children in families for whom the bureau made the first investigation and 79 children in families referred for investigation to the placing agencies. The development of the policy of the bureau as illustrated in the difference in number of applications accepted by the bureau and those referred directly to other agencies in the earlier and the later year is toward finer organization of work within the bureau and better coordination of work with all institutions and agencies providing care for dependent children. In families where an investigation of the application has been made by the bureau a different recommendation for care of the children may be made for each child. Thus in a family of three children where the mother needed hospital care one child may have been recommended for institutional care and a second for foster-home care, and the third may have been placed with relatives. The children whom the bureau supervised without removal from the place in which they were living at the time they were referred for care constituted 5 per cent of the number referred. The policy of the bureau to supervise some children in their homes developed through the need to watch very carefully certain conditions in the home in order to prevent if possible the placement of the children.

It was unnecessary for the bureau to take action in regard to 685 (22 per cent) of the children. In 131 of these cases no investigation was made. (In 29 of the 131 cases some need seems to have been indicated at the interview, but the situation evidently changed very shortly in these 29 cases.) In 554 cases the bureau found on investigation that there was no need for action. In 231 of these cases the original situation indicated no need, in 255 cases the child's family or friends made adjustments during the period of investigation that obviated the need for community care of the child, and in the remaining 68 cases an agency that had known the child or his family previously either continued or resumed supervision. It is interesting to note the number of children (255, or 8 per cent of the total) whose families—or those directly responsible for them—made their own plans, either because they did not wish to have their circumstances investigated or because they were able to make adjustments without help. Most of the 68 cases in which an agency had continued or resumed supervision had been referred to the bureau for institutional placement of the children pending the outcome of court action or decision by a case committee; and as plans were worked out later that made the placement unnecessary these children remained under the supervision of the agencies referring the case, though the bureau stood ready to recommend care in an institution if an emergency should arise. Some of the community agencies that were to continue care whether for a longer or shorter period were dispensaries, summer camps, day nurseries, the board of education, the State board of public welfare, the Visiting Nurse Association, and the Association for the Crippled and Disabled. The greater number of children for whom continued care was recommended were under the care of the juvenile court, the bureau of domestic relations, or the Women's Protective Association.

It is understood that the foundation of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland is the welfare of the individual child and every recommendation is made with this in view. Hence, the records contained a great deal on individual characteristics, but for the purpose of this study the characteristics of these children other than their age are of little importance, since the emphasis of the study is placed on dependency of children rather than the dependent child. The recommendations made for the care of Cleveland's dependent children as related to their family history and background constituted the chief interest.

WHEREABOUTS OF CHILDREN AT TIME OF APPLICATION

Table 16 shows the whereabouts of the case children at the time of application and the home situation as indicated by the presence or absence of parents in the home. This shows clearly that the family was usually shattered when the Children's Bureau of Cleveland was called upon to help in readjustments. Only 725 (24 per cent) of the 3,039 children for whom whereabouts was reported were with both parents in their own homes at the time of application. This does not necessarily mean that both parents were actually in the home, as some of them may have been temporarily in the hospital, but it does mean that all but 17 of these parents were living together and maintaining homes. This group of children is perhaps the least difficult to provide care for, as the situation in the home generally calls for only temporary placement of children, the cause of dependency being in most cases illness of mother, though neglect of children by parents also is found as a cause in this group.

A greater number of children were with their mother only than with their father only. But 72 per cent of the mothers of these children maintained homes for them, as compared with 87 per cent of the fathers of the children who were with father only. This would seem to indicate that children left with the father come much more quickly to the attention of the community than do children left with their mother. A woman left without her husband usually endeavors to provide care for her family without assistance from the community, even though often the struggle is too great, and some of the children or all of them are placed with relatives or friends or placed for adoption before the mother makes an appeal for help. A man left with children is apt to think it impossible to provide care for the children without the mother, so that he will seek assistance at once, and in most cases the children have not been scattered before the family comes to the attention of a child-caring agency.

TABLE 16.—*Whereabouts of children at the time of application for care to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, by specified parent maintaining home*

Whereabouts of child	Children considered for care					
	Total	Specified parent maintaining home				
		Both	Mother only	Father only	Neither	Not reported
Total	3,074	752	715	770	799	38
Total reported	3,039	750	707	767	784	31
With both parents	725	708			17	
With mother only	912		651	18	241	2
With father only	743		9	648	86	
With relatives	274	10	10	35	201	18
With friends	107	4	7	34	61	1
In boarding home	53		7	4	36	6
In adoptive home	2	1			1	
In institution	[1] 98	17	17	16	47	1
In hospital	33	6	6	10	10	1
Other	[2] 92	4		2	84	2
Not reported	35	2	8	3	15	7

[1] Includes 82 children temporarily in the detention home, 62 of whom were dependent and 20 of whom were delinquent; 16 other children were placed in an institution in emergency, the Children's Bureau of Cleveland to make investigation before final placement.

[2] Includes 67 children who were in their own homes without the parents, both of whom had been removed by death or other circumstances (such as father deserted, mother in hospital).

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CARE OF THE CHILDREN

Table 17 shows the action taken by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland in regard to the applications for care, classified by the whereabouts of the child at the time of application. Institutional care was recommended for 29 per cent of the children with both parents, 20 per cent of the children with mother only, 35 per cent of the children with father only, and 28 per cent of those who were with relatives at time of application. Care by a family agency, in most cases the associated charities, was recommended for 21 per cent of the children with both parents, 43 per cent of those with mother only, 12 per cent of those with father only, and 16 per cent of those with relatives. Care by a home-finding agency, in most cases the Cleveland Humane Society, was recommended for 11 per cent of the children with both parents, 10 per cent of those with mother only, 9 per cent of those with father only, and 11 per cent of those with relatives.

TABLE 17.—*Action taken in cases of children considered for care by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, by whereabouts of child at the time of application for care*

Whereabouts of child at time of application	Children considered for care														
			Action taken							No action taken					
			Referred to—								Consideration showed no need				
	Total	Total for whom action was reported	Institutions	Agencies			Supervised without removal	Placed with relatives	Other	No investigation made	Total	Original situation indicated no need	Situation changed during period of consideration	Action pending	Action not reported
				Family	Placing	Other									
Total	3,074	3,069	911	721	320	58	161	91	43	131	554	231	323	79	5
Total reported	3,039	3,034	899	712	319	58	161	91	42	128	549	230	319	75	5
With both parents	725	725	213	152	81	24	30	11	4	34	170	65	105	6	
With mother only	912	908	179	393	91	21	24	29	8	39	115	36	79	9	4
With father only	743	742	257	90	68	5	79	25	10	24	157	86	71	27	1
In relative's home	274	274	78	44	31	5	12	6	4	20	56	27	29	18	
In friend's home	107	107	39	8	9		6	2	8	8	20	9	11	7	
In boarding home	53	53	8	8	13	1	6		1	1	12	6	6	3	
In adoptive home	2	2					1				1		1		
In an institution	98	98	69	2	6	1		5	4	1	7	1	6	3	
In a hospital	33	33	8	6	10	1		2		1	5		5		
In other place	92	92	48	9	10		3	11	3		6		6	2	
Not reported	35	35	12	9	1				1	3	5	1	4	4	

Confusion as to the exact whereabouts of children at the time of application is shown by the number included under "in other place" at the time of application. The records of a number of children did not give definite information on this point. Children in free homes were included in this classification, children with the mother at a hospital, and some children who were apparently in boarding homes. That the condition of most of the children was very unsatisfactory is indicated by the fact that 52 per cent of these children were recommended for institutional care.

The ages of the children whom the Children's Bureau of Cleveland considered for care are of particular interest, as they not only indicate something of the cause of dependency, but also had to be taken into consideration in determining the kind of care to be recommended. Table 18 shows the ages of the children for whose care the bureau made recommendations.

TABLE 18.—*Action taken in cases of children considered for care by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, by age of child at the time of application for care*

Age of child at time of application	Children considered for care															
			Action taken							No action taken						
			Referred to—								Consideration showed no need					
				Agencies												
	Total	Total for whom action was reported	Institutions	Family	Placing	Other	Supervised without removal	Placed with relatives	Other	No investigation made	Total	Original situation indicated no need	Situation changed during period of consideration	Action pending	Action not reported
Total	3,074	3,069	911	721	320	58	161	91	43	131	554	231	323	79	5
Total reported	3,048	3,043	909	713	317	58	157	90	43	128	550	230	320	78	5
Under 6 months	109	109	16	28	33	3		1	2	3	23	6	17		
6 months, under 1 year	70	70	4	23	23		1		1	2	16	6	10		
1 year, under 4 years	645	644	124	168	117	16	30	21	10	18	129	59	70	11	1
4 years, under 6 years	484	483	166	118	33	8	18	13	5	21	88	34	54	13	1
6 years, under 12 years	1,271	1,269	459	282	69	23	73	34	17	64	213	83	130	35	2
12 years, under 16 years	417	417	133	83	35	7	32	17	7	19	69	35	34	15	
16 years, and over	52	51	7	11	7	1	3	4	1	1	12	7	5	4	1
Not reported	26	26	2	8	3		4	1		3	4	1	3	1	

The general policy as it has been worked out by the agencies interested in child welfare has been that children under 4 years of age should be given foster-home care, as it is almost impossible for an institution to give the individual care that is necessary for the best development of the children. Table 18 shows that 124 (19 per cent) of the children between 1 and 4 years of age who were considered for care by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland were recommended for institutional care, 117 (18 per cent) were recommended for care by a placing agency, and 168 (26 per cent) were in families referred to a family-welfare agency for care.

It is significant that 80 of the children recommended for institutional care were from 72 families of Catholic faith. The difficulty in finding sufficient Catholic boarding homes is largely responsible for the need of placing these children in an institution at so early an age. Furthermore the majority of these children were of foreign-born parents, and it is not easy to find good boarding homes for such children. There was the additional difficulty that the humane society was not financially able to develop boarding-home care as rapidly as was needed. Consequently the institution often was the only place ready to accept a Catholic child between 1 and 4 years of age.

For the 40 Protestant families having children between 1 and 4 years of age for whom institutional care was recommended there seems to have been an effort to place together regardless of age all the children of a family (as in families of two or three children) if all were in need of placement. This evidently was the case in regard to 13 families, the children under 4 years of age having been placed with the older brothers and sisters in the institutions so that the family groups were not subject to further separation. For the remaining 27 families of this Protestant group there was not sufficient information in the records to reveal the circumstances that led to institutional placement for children of this age. Some cases may be accounted for by the fact that a maternity hospital with an infant department has developed excellent facilities. Accordingly premature infants and young children presenting difficult medical problems have been sent to this home. Later when the conditions requiring treatment and special care have been cleared up these children are referred to the Cleveland Humane Society for boarding-home care. It is hoped that eventually this maternity hospital can accept more of the special types to be discharged on recovery to boarding homes, as such an arrangement would save much time and effort in regard to the difficult medical cases. Other cases among the 27 are also those of the children who are placed for a short time only and then returned to their own homes.

The general plan and future method of solving the problem in regard to the institutional placement of children under 4 years of age are under discussion at the present time, but the situation during the earlier days of the existence of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland seemed to make such placement the most satisfactory method.

The bureau recommended institutional placement for 166 children between 4 and 7 years of age (33 per cent of the total), care by a family agency for 118 children of this age (24 per cent), and care by a child-placing agency for 33 (7 per cent).

AGENCIES COOPERATING WITH THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU OF CLEVELAND

THE CLEVELAND HUMANE SOCIETY

In 1923 the Cleveland Humane Society celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. In 1871 a citizen of Cleveland introduced a resolution in the city council for the organization of a humane society. The resolution was adopted, but nothing was done about actual organization until 1873 when the Cleveland Humane Society started its work. It was organized for the protection of animals, but in 1876 a case of unusual cruelty to a child was reported to the society, and this first brought the protection of children into its work. As years have passed the relative importance of the work for protection of children and the protection of animals has been reversed, until to-day this society is concerned chiefly with the care of children. It is as the most important child-placing organization of Cleveland that it is of interest in the present study, and the information given in the following paragraphs applies only to the child-welfare work of the society.

The Cleveland Humane Society acts as a child-placing organization for the entire county of Cuyahoga as well as for the city of Cleveland. It is a member of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland, and is supported chiefly through the Community Fund. The demand for foster homes has increased greatly in the past five years. The increase has been due to a large extent to the new program for community care of children, particularly institutional care, undertaken when the bureau was established in 1921.[1] It has been necessary to double the amount allowed to the society by the Welfare Federation for the board of children, and even then the financing—with $80,000 appropriated for board in 1925—is insufficient.

The society issues an annual bulletin, which shows the work accomplished during the year, and it renders to the Welfare Federation of Cleveland a monthly report on the work of all its departments. A copy of the compilation of information from these reports for 1924 that the federation made is shown in the following table:

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[1] Sixty-five per cent of all dependent children were in institutions, and 35 per cent were in boarding homes in 1925.

Information compiled by the Welfare Federation of Cleveland from the monthly reports of the Cleveland Humane Society during 1924

Month in 1924	Total children on first of month	Children received during month	Children discharged during month	State-board wards not included in preceding figures	Total children in boarding homes on last day of month	Number of children for whom humane society was responsible	Number of boarding homes in use on last day of month	Total cost of boarding children	Amount expended by humane society	Amount for which parents and guardians were responsible	Amount paid by parents and guardians
Total	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	$128,713	$64, 904	$63, 806	$48, 230
January	1, 284	93	61	130	507	242	304	10, 973	5, 986	4, 987	4, 484
February	1, 316	67	36	139	521	251	312	10, 700	5, 762	4, 938	3, 822
March	1, 347	73	42	139	529	253	325	11, 237	5, 399	5, 838	4, 167
April	1, 378	73	60	149	505	239	323	10, 368	5, 556	4, 812	4, 326
May	1, 391	86	39	148	518	247	325	11, 520	6, 147	5, 373	3, 532
June	1, 470	59	39	152	507	240	325	10, 078	5, 132	4, 945	5, 025
July	1, 490	76	45	157	508	228	323	11, 526	5, 707	5, 819	3, 377
August	1, 521	75	63	173	538	258	330	12, 004	6, 428	5, 575	3, 188
September	1, 533	59	74	193	481	206	318	10, 732	5, 330	5, 402	4, 646
October	1, 518	60	107	197	454	225	309	10, 892	5, 265	5, 627	4, 483
November	1, 471	40	55	203	417	201	305	9, 798	4, 422	5, 375	3, 396
December	1, 456	31	45	215	418	191	268	8, 885	3, 770	5, 115	3, 784

ORGANIZATION

The board of directors is made up of 60 members, one-third being elected each year for a term of three years. They meet quarterly or upon call. The directors are representative individuals interested in work for children, such as the judge of the juvenile court, the judge of the court of common pleas, the director of public welfare, ministers of the Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths, physicians, lawyers, and a representative from the school department. A list of new members for the board is presented annually by the nominating committee, and election takes place at the annual meeting of the board. The officers of the society are elected for a term of one year. Appointments to the various committees are made by the president and approved by the executive committee.

The executive committee consists of 11 members of the board of directors. This committee meets once a month or upon call. The children's committee is composed of members of the board of directors and also other interested people, including professional social workers. This committee has 19 members and meets bimonthly for the discussion of general policies in relation to children cared for by the society. The boarding-case committee is composed of 12 members who are social workers from all the agencies interested in work for children. This committee is also responsible for a definite decision as to case work when more than one agency is interested in the family. Thus is avoided the common error of having workers from various agencies visit the same family over the same period of time. This committee considers problems relating to children placed in boarding homes. and recently it has undertaken a study of dependent children in Cleveland in order to determine the best possible methods of meeting the increasing need for foster-home placement. The clothing committee has 13 members, some of them from the board of directors, others whose services are valuable because of their contact with church societies and

women's clubs—organizations that have given a great deal of help in making clothes for distribution by the society. This committee holds about five meetings each year. The Christmas committee has five members from the board of directors and is responsible for the Christmas plans for more than 1,000 children. The investigation made by one agency is accepted by the others, and summaries of the cases are submitted when the case work is taken over by another agency.[2]

THE CHILDREN CARED FOR

Children are received chiefly from three sources: The juvenile court, the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, and individuals. Most of the children coming from the court are made dependent through neglect, but there are also a few in this group who come because of delinquency and who, the judge feels, may be benefited by a normal family home. Court action has been taken only as a last resort to save these boys and girls when other methods of adjustment have failed. Every effort is made to remove such children directly from the court to foster homes so that it will be unnecessary to keep them in the detention home. At the present time most of the commitments by the juvenile court for custody of children are made to the Cleveland Humane Society, but if the child whose custody is received is to be placed in an institution the Children's Bureau of Cleveland takes the child directly from court. If later the child returns to his family the bureau often turns the family over to the Cleveland Associated Charities, and in cases of this nature the society has practically an empty custody of the child—the only connection with the case being that it renews the custody if necessary.[3] The children received from the Children's Bureau of Cleveland are those who are thought to have received all the possible benefit from institutional life but whose homes are either permanently broken or not yet sufficiently reconstructed for them to return and who therefore must be placed in foster homes, and some are children who do not fit into institutional life and become a disturbing element. The third group of children, those received directly from parents or friends, come from homes broken by death, illness, insanity, or some other emergent circumstance.

MEDICAL CARE

The medical work for infants and all children under 3 years of age is carried on from the Babies' Dispensary and Hospital and is under the direction of a physician who is a pediatrician. This physician is a member of the Cleveland Humane Society staff and gives part time to the medical examination of the babies in care of the society. After examination the child is placed in one of the subsidized homes maintained by the society. In these homes the children's diet is carefully regulated and their development watched by the physician, who visits all babies twice a week.

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[2] On January 1, 1925, the Cleveland Humane Society's executive staff was composed of the executive secretary, field secretary, director of case work, attorney, 9 supervisors, and 47 case workers—18 of whom were students in training. There was a legal consultant at court, and two physicians gave part time to medical examinations for the society. There were also a receiving secretary, a training-class director, and a clerical staff.

[3] Since 1925 the bureau has been accepting under its license a limited number of temporary commitments; the humane society still is asked to accept custody in long-time cases.

Medical attention for children over 3 years of age is given at the Children's Bureau of Cleveland clinic at Lakeside Hospital. Where the need is indicated for continued medical care this clinic takes the full responsibility for giving it, and the child returns to the clinic as long as attention is needed. Dental work for the children under the care of the Cleveland Humane Society also is provided at the clinic.

The board of health nurses visit once a month every humane-society boarding home where there are children. Cleveland is districted in health units, and each district nurse sends to the humane society once a month a report on children in boarding homes in her district. Children with difficult personality and mentally backward children are given special attention. With the opening of the Children's Aid Society clinic for the study of problem children it has been possible to plan more wisely for these children.

DEPARTMENTS OF THE SOCIETY

The society's work for children is carried on in five departments covering home finding, infant care, children of unmarried mothers, child protection and foster-home care, and State children.

The home-finding department.

The home-finding department is responsible for furnishing a sufficient number of foster homes for the children requiring such care. These are found in various ways. Visitors are constantly in the field seeking new homes for children; boarding mothers are encouraged to interest their friends in boarding children for the society; and committees of representative persons have been organized from various racial groups. Through appeals to clubs, church groups, and other community organizations the publicity department attracts public interest to the child needing a foster home. Considerable assistance is received from newspapers, especially the foreign-language papers. Special effort must be put forth to find homes for infants under 2 years of age, psychopathic children, those of low mentality, those who need special training in behavior, and physically handicapped children. There is also difficulty in finding homes of the right standards for the negro child and the child of foreign parentage. In order to help provide immediate shelter for these children, a number of homes have been subsidized by the Cleveland Humane Society. One of these is for boys over 3 years of age, one is for girls over 3 years of age, three are for infants, and one is for negro children.

Every home from which there comes an application to care for children is visited, and a detailed report is made covering family history, home life, income, health, motive for taking the child, and ability to give intelligent and understanding care. Several references are secured, including one from the family physician and one from the pastor. Besides this preliminary work, every home must be licensed and then relicensed each year. Both the city board of health and the State department of public welfare license these homes. The licenses must be secured by all persons boarding children, whether for the Cleveland Humane Society or not. The society acts as the representative of the State department of public

welfare and makes investigations throughout the county of all applicants who wish to board children. The home-finding department gives special attention to the education of foster mothers in order to help them give better care to the children in their charge. Instruction as to diets for children and the general care of health is given to foster mothers by staff members whose training has equipped them for this work. The staff of this department consists of one supervisor and four other workers, one of whom gives all her time to investigation of private boarding homes throughout the county. During 1924 there were 711 applications from persons wishing to care for children in their homes, 452 of which were approved.

The department for infant care.

The department for infant care, which deals with dependent children under 3 years of age, was created in June, 1923. As the community work for children in Cleveland became more specialized after the survey in 1920, the work of placing children under 3 years of age was made a definite part of the humane-society service. This was in accordance with the outline for coordination of the work of all agencies. The agencies and institutions are glad to have the babies cared for in foster homes. The work with babies is a special problem demanding experienced workers, superior foster homes, and a well-defined medical program. Acting on this theory, the society has worked out a routine for their care. All babies received are first given a medical examination at the Babies' Dispensary and Hospital, and here instructions as to care are given and diet prescribed. The child is then placed in one of the subsidized homes maintained by the society. These are temporary homes, where each child's diet is carefully regulated before he is placed in a private home. The subsidized homes are in charge of women experienced in nursing and especially interested in the child's early development. The length of stay in a home of this kind depends a great deal upon the infant's physical condition and upon the ability of the society to find a home best adapted for his particular need. The physician visits all babies in the subsidized homes twice a week and gives advice as to their diet and general care. The department maintains a staff of six workers—a medical director, a supervisor, and four case workers. The average number of cases carried by the workers is 50.

The department for unmarried mothers.

The department for unmarried mothers is concerned with the care and protection of children born out of wedlock. The work necessarily involves the care of the mother before and during confinement, plans for keeping the mother and child together, and proceedings to secure support from the father. The work in connection with these problems has followed as closely as possible the principles defined by the Cleveland Conference on Illegitimacy in 1923;[4] these principles embrace the rights of the child, the rights of the mother, the rights of the father, and the rights of the community. This department works in close cooperation with the hospitals and maternity homes of Cleveland, which have given valuable assistance in the care of young mothers and their children. In the endeavor

[4] Cole, Lawrence C.: "The need of the case work method in dealing with illegitimacy." Hospital Social Service [New York], vol. 13 (1926), pp. 430–442.

to keep the child with the mother, if she is mentally and physically normal, for at least a year, special funds were appropriated to be used to board some of these mothers and their babies while other plans were being made. The amount is limited, but it has been very helpful as far as it could be applied. The staff for this department is composed of a supervisor and five case workers. The amount of work handled in 1924 included 299 new cases and 306 cases carried over from the previous year. During the year 238 of these cases were closed.

The department of child protection and foster-home care.

The department of child protection and foster-home care was formerly two departments, one of child protection and the other of child placing. In 1923 the work of these departments was reorganized and combined for the purpose of centralizing in one visitor the responsibility for the family and the child concerned rather than having the responsibility divided between an investigating visitor and a child-placing visitor. There are, however, two distinct phases of work—one having to do with all complaints of neglect, the other with placing children in foster homes. The protective work, which involves problems of physical, medical, and moral neglect, improper guardianship, and nonsupport and desertion, involves the most careful inquiry into all the facts and an analysis of these facts before a plan for the child is ultimately decided upon. Preservation of the child's own home and natural family relationships has been the foremost endeavor. If family ties are broken for a while, reconstruction of the home nevertheless is worked for continually. Proper guardianship has been secured for those children whose parents have failed in their responsibility. It is also often necessary to have children removed from their parents through juvenile-court action. The custody of the majority of dependent children removed from their parents by the court has been given either temporarily or permanently to this society, which has a worker to handle all juvenile-court work in connection with commitments and other court action.

The child-placing work of the society parallels to a large extent the work of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, the methods of investigation and follow-up being based upon the same standards. The work of this society and that of the bureau are so interdependent that policies adopted by one agency in regard to the care of children seriously affect the work of the other agency; and consequently a well-defined program has been outlined as to children who should be recommended for foster-home care and those who should be recommended for institutional care. (See p. 24.)

The Cleveland Humane Society makes its own investigation of all complaints and applications coming directly to it, but there is a clear understanding with the Children's Bureau of Cleveland that the investigations made by one agency shall be accepted by the other. A division of labor on the basis of the kind of service each is best equipped to give has been worked out.

The policy of limiting the institutional residence of children to as brief a period as possible has increased greatly the demand for foster homes, and the work of the child-placing department of the

Cleveland Humane Society therefore has become the largest branch of the society's work since the establishment of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland in 1921. It is the responsibility of this department to place children in foster homes, supervise them as long as they are under care, and work out a plan for their return to their own or relatives' homes. Foster homes are of four types—the boarding home, the wage home, the free home, and the adoptive home. Most of the children because of the more or less temporary nature of their care are placed in boarding homes, but those accepted by the society for permanent care are placed in adoptive or free homes. Particular attention is given to the older children of this group, for whom it is often possible to find wage homes; that is, homes in which boys or girls do some work in return for the care received and are paid small wages or furnished with the necessary clothes.

The staff of the department of child protection and foster-home care consists of 3 supervisors and about 25 case workers, of whom 16 are students in training. The records are kept according to family cases and children's cases. All records open as family cases; later if children in the family are placed a record is made for each of these children, and those become children's cases. If children are placed and contact still is maintained with the family, a family-case record and a children's case record are carried at the same time. The average case load for the first-year student is 32 family cases and 20 children's cases; the second-year student carries an average case load of 47 family cases and 45 children's cases; and the trained worker carries considerably more than this. The society does not district the work but prefers to have the same worker carry the child or family from investigation of applicant to closing of record. Districting is apt to mean the frequent transfer of family or children from one worker to another. All decisions as to plans for each child are taken up with the supervisor and referred to the director of case work for further discussion when necessary. The amount of supervision of children in foster homes depends on the needs of the respective children and the homes where they have been placed.[5] On account of the difficulties that arise in the placement of older children, particularly the boys, a man trained in work with boys has been added to the staff of the foster-home department to have charge of the placement and supervision of all problem boys over 10 years of age.

The department of State children.

The department of State children has the care and supervision of children who have become wards of the State. (See p. 84.) In June, 1921, the Cleveland Humane Society entered into an agreement with the division of charities of the State department of public welfare by which the society became the local representative of the State to place and supervise its wards in Cuyahoga County. By this arrangement it is possible to turn over to the State for support children requiring protracted care because of physical or mental handicaps. The society provides visitors for the placement and supervision of these children, and the State is responsible for their

[5] On October 1, 1926, the Cleveland Humane Society had under care 1,667 children. Of these, 856 were in boarding homes, 370 being State wards.

board and clothing. Three visitors devote all their time to work with these children. On December 31, 1924, there were 215 children placed and under supervision for the State department of public welfare.[6]

THE CLEVELAND ASSOCIATED CHARITIES

The Cleveland Associated Charities was founded in 1884 and reorganized and incorporated in 1900, when the city's population was about 400,000. Before 1900 the work of relief had been carried on by several agencies, and it was as the result of an effort to prevent duplication of the work that the Cleveland Associated Charities was reorganized. The work is carried on under the general direction of officers and a board of trustees. Committees are responsible for the following branches of the work: Advisory, finance, home economics, educational work, sewing center, volunteer service, child study, wayfarers' lodge, publicity, annual public meeting, annual published report, location of offices, unemployment, and district committees.

The associated charities is distinctly a family-welfare organization. It deals with the family as a whole, planning that every unit of it shall receive such consideration as will enable the family to become a community asset instead of a liability. A well-defined program has been worked out for handling material relief, health problems, marital difficulties, and other exigencies. The aim in relief of course is to use material relief only to help a family long enough for it to recover from the distress that has made necessary the request for assistance from the associated charities. While relief is being given, existing problems in the family are studied. An effort is made to improve health, adjust marital difficulties, find employment, plan recreational opportunities, and strengthen the feeling of moral and physical responsibility of parents toward children. In cases needing long-time relief, such as those due to widowhood, desertion that is permanent, or chronic physical disability of the wage earner, the handling of relief is somewhat different. An allowance is provided for each family, for which the family accounts to the associated charities' visitors, who are constantly in touch with the family, building up every possible resource that will make it independent as soon as possible. Attention has been given to the solution of marital problems in relation to other difficulties, as the former frequently arise from poor health, poor management, insufficient income, and sex intemperance and lead to desertion, divorce, and separation, all of which often cause the dependency of children. The families receiving relief constitute between one-fourth and one-fifth of the total number of families under supervision. When only supervision is given some families are carried from three months to six years, the visitor acting as an advising friend, often asking the cooperation of other organizations in solving the problems. It is in the capacity of general supervisor and family counselor and in its cooperation with the Children's Bureau of Cleveland and the humane society that the associated charities has rendered greatest service in working out the child-welfare program of the city.

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[6] On October 1, 1926, this number had increased to 460 children, 370 of whom were in boarding homes. The department of State children then consisted of seven visitors and a supervisor in charge.

The Cleveland Associated Charities has a definite program for the children in the families under care. This includes close cooperation with the nutrition clinic at Lakeside Hospital and other health classes in the city and with the children's fresh-air camp; the working out of diet lists for mothers by the home-economics department of the associated charities, and demonstrations in the home by the workers in this department on the principles of cooking; and a child-study committee which deals with problems of discipline and general child care. Close cooperation is maintained with the Children's Bureau of Cleveland; and all cases where there is a need, temporary or permanent, of placing children away from their families are referred to the bureau. It is becoming more and more customary to have case conferences in which the situation is discussed by workers from both organizations before cases are referred. Court cases in which the associated charities expects to file affidavits and in which it is likely that the children will be placed are discussed with the Children's Bureau of Cleveland for a comprehensive plan before court action is taken. Certain cases likewise are discussed with the Cleveland Humane Society. Thus a plan is made for the judge's approval, and when the case is heard a worker from the bureau is present in the court to take the children after the hearing so that placement in the detention home is unnecessary. In this way a presentation of the problem is given and a solution for the care of each child arrived at—with responsibility for child and family resting upon the organization best equipped to handle it. Frequently the Children's Bureau of Cleveland is responsible for children whose family is under the supervision of the associated charities. Periodic reports on the progress of the children and on the family are exchanged. There has been a very fine spirit of cooperation between this bureau and the associated charities, due perhaps to some extent to the location of both organizations in the same building on the same floor and to the fact that the bureau's executive secretary and director of case work formerly were members of the staff of the associated charities.

The existence of a central children's bureau in the last four years has not appreciably increased the case load of the associated charities, as the cases referred by this bureau to the associated charities have been balanced by those referred by the associated charities to the bureau.

The Cleveland Associated Charities carries on its work through the division of the city into districts, of which there are 12 at the present time. In each district is a supervisor with a staff of visitors. There are 163 members on the staff, 85 of whom are case workers—including senior visitors, second-year training students, and first-year training students. The training class instituted in 1905, which now is conducted under the school of applied social sciences of Western Reserve University, has proved a success in helping to meet the need for trained case workers. The average active-case load of senior visitors is 50, of second-year workers 40, and of first-year workers 25.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE CLEARING HOUSE

The Social Service Clearing House has been invaluable in organizing the community care of dependent children. Organized by the associated charities in 1909, it has been for 10 years under the supervision of a committee elected by the agencies using it and is financed by the Welfare Federation. It maintains a central index of the welfare agencies and of all the families served by them, the purpose being to promote cooperative and constructive care for persons in need and to prevent duplication of effort and relief on the part of all the charitable and correctional agencies. Most of the families making application to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland have been known previously to other agencies. The clearing-house service makes it possible to learn what agencies these were and when the families had been known to them. The ability to get this information in regard to each family when the application is made is of great value in planning for the welfare of the children for whom application is made. If a family is under the active care of some agency the family can be referred back to it; and if the family merely has been known to some agency at a previous time that agency nevertheless can furnish information useful in planning for the children's future. It was found that many families were being planned for by other agencies, but still disregarded every effort that was made to help them keep their children with them and applied for admission to an institution. A number of children in such families might have been admitted to institutions were it not for the service rendered by the Social Service Clearing House, which made it possible to cooperate with the agency actively interested in keeping the children in their own homes.

THE CATHOLIC CHARITIES BUREAU

The Catholic Charities Bureau has general supervision over all Catholic charitable organizations; this includes institutions for the care of dependent children. Before the establishment of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland the Catholic Charities Bureau was responsible for all investigations of applications for the care of children in Catholic institutions. Formerly most of these investigations were made through the associated charities. Since the organization of the central children's bureau all Cleveland applications for institutional care have been turned over to this bureau for investigation and recommendation. Permission to place children found to be in need of institutional care in any Catholic institution must be secured first from the Catholic Charities Bureau. The unlimited cooperation which the Catholic Charities Bureau has given in the work of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland has been no small factor in the latter's success.

THE JUVENILE COURT

JURISDICTION

The juvenile court is a branch of the insolvency court and has jurisdiction over all delinquent, dependent, and neglected children under 18 years of age and over all adults who contribute to the de-

linquency, dependency, or neglect of children under 18 years of age. The court may commit any dependent or neglected child to the care of some suitable State or county institution, or to the care of some reputable citizen or training or industrial school, or to the care of some association willing to receive him which embraces in its objects caring for dependent, neglected, or delinquent children or obtaining homes for them and which has been duly accredited by the State department of public welfare. The judge also may commit the child to a private or public hospital. A child committed to an association or institution for permanent care becomes a ward subject to the sole and exclusive guardianship of such association and institution, and such agency may place in a family home; it also must be made party to any proceeding for the adoption of the child and may assent to the adoption. An individual to whose care such a child is committed may not consent to adoption without further order of the court. All associations receiving children under the juvenile court act are subject to supervision by the State department of public welfare.[7]

The Children's Bureau of Cleveland and the juvenile court have become more interdependent as the bureau has developed. The acceptance of custody of children by the bureau and the working out of plans for children in conjunction with the probation officers before the case is heard in order to avoid having dependent and neglected children kept in the detention home while awaiting placement has brought the bureau in close touch with the juvenile court.

THE MOTHERS' PENSIONS DEPARTMENT

In 1913 the Ohio Legislature enacted a mothers' pension law to be administered by the juvenile court. This made it possible upon application for the juvenile court to give aid for the support of children to women whose husbands are dead, permanently disabled, prisoners, or deserters (provided the desertion had been for a period of three years). The family must have had two years' legal residence in the county granting assistance. The maximum allowance is $35 a month for the first child and $10 for each other child who is not eligible for age and schooling certificates. The order making allowances is not effective for a longer period than six months and is subject to change from time to time.[8] Owing to the small appropriation the mothers' pensions department can not care for many families, and therefore the Children's Bureau of Cleveland refers the majority of widows' families to the associated charities for assistance.

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[7] Ohio, Gen. Code 1910, secs. 1352, 1352–1, 1637, 1639, 1642, 1653, 1672, pp. 286, 349, 351, 354, 358, as added and amended by acts of May 9, 1913, Laws of 1913, p. 864; act of Feb. 17, 1914, Laws of 1914, p. 176; acts of Mar. 27 and May 9, 1919, Laws of 1919, pp. 46, 260; act of Apr. 17, 1923, Laws of 1923, p. 127. (Page's Ann. Gen. Code 1926, secs. 1352, 1352–1, 1637, 1639, 1642, 1653, 1672, pp. 613, 614, 884, 885, 891, 896.) Before Sept. 1, 1925, the insolvency court had jurisdiction concurrent with the court of common pleas in actions for divorce and alimony, but since that time all such cases are considered in the court of common pleas. See Ohio, Gen. Code 1910, sec. 1637, p. 349, as amended by act of May 6, 1913, Laws of 1913, p. 405; act of Feb. 17, 1914, Laws of 1914, p. 179; act of Apr. 15, 1925, Laws of 1925, p. 234; and Page's Ann. Gen. Code 1926, sec. 1637, p. 882.

[8] Ohio, act of May 9, 1913, Laws of 1913, p. 864, as amended by act of June 2, 1915, Laws of 1915, p. 436; act of June 5, 1919, Laws of 1919, p. 624; act of Apr. 8, 1921, Laws of 1921, p. 70. (Page's Ann. Gen. Code 1926, secs. 1683–2 to 1683–10, pp. 898–900.)

THE BUREAU OF DOMESTIC RELATIONS OF THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS

The bureau of domestic relations of the court of common pleas was established in July, 1920, by the judges of the common-pleas court. The purpose of the bureau was the investigation of families with children in which divorce proceedings were pending or contemplated. The staff is very small, and the work is confined chiefly to office conferences with the applicants. Where the question of divorce is paramount in families that have come to the attention of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland they have been referred primarily to the associated charities because the latter has better facilities for making investigations.

THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE CRIPPLED AND DISABLED

The Association for the Crippled and Disabled aims to insure to every crippled person in Cleveland, whether child or adult, the best physical condition he is able to attain, the most useful education he is capable of receiving, and the most suitable employment he is competent to undertake. The activities of this organization include supervision of the work of the Rotary Club for crippled boys and girls throughout the county. The work of the association is very closely allied to that of Rainbow Hospital for crippled children and the two institutions for care of crippled children in Cleveland. Thus the association constantly works with the central children's bureau in planning for the care of the boys and girls in these institutions.

The Association for the Crippled and Disabled has its own well-organized social-service department, which is responsible for having all needs of its individual clients met adequately through the resources of the association or in cooperation with agencies of the city. It provides for the training of the crippled, for the finding of suitable employment, and for many other services which further the interests of the physically handicapped, whether children or adults. The association has rendered great service in the care which it has given to crippled and handicapped children referred to it by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland and the Cleveland Humane Society.[9]

THE DAY NURSERIES

On April 1, 1925, there were in the city of Cleveland nine day nurseries with a total capacity of 555 children. Most of these nurseries are in factory districts, but there are also a few in the districts where many women go out from their homes to do day work.

Families are referred to the nurseries by all case-work organizations, such as the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, the associated charities, and the mothers' pensions department of the juvenile court. No reinvestigation is made for families referred by these agencies; but all applications are cleared in the Social Service Clearing House, and before accepting a child not known to any

[9] In 1925, 49 per cent of all persons under care of the Association for the Crippled and Disabled were children.

agency the nursery makes an investigation. The Children's Bureau of Cleveland refers many cases to the nurseries. The nurseries did not seem able to meet entirely the demand made upon them. One family which the bureau moved into such a district in order to provide day-nursery instead of institutional care was unable to have the children admitted because of a long waiting list; and it was found also that the associated charities had under care 11 families with 19 children waiting for admission to this same nursery.[10] A study of the children in the nursery and those on the waiting list showed that the children in the nursery were sturdier, their family contact was better, and their attendance at school was more regular.

All nurseries are required to obtain licenses from the State department of public welfare,[11] which makes an annual inspection. A license also must be obtained from the city board of health. The nurseries make a charge of 10 to 50 cents a day, depending upon the financial situation of the families concerned.

THE WELFARE ASSOCIATION FOR JEWISH CHILDREN

The work of the Welfare Association for Jewish Children has been outlined as follows:

> In Cleveland there are three agencies responsible for the care of Jewish children away from their natural homes: The Welfare Association for Jewish Children, our child-placing agency; the Jewish Orphan Home; and the Orthodox Jewish Orphan Home. The Jewish Children's Conference was established about a year and a half ago for the purpose of centralizing the intake of children and determining their allocation. On this conference are represented the three child-care agencies, the family agency, the Jewish Day Nursery, and a number of other agencies involved directly or indirectly in the care of children. The conference meets weekly, has its own chairman, who is a lay person, the agencies being represented on the conference by the professional director and a board member, each individual present having a vote in the decision made.
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> Although great benefit has been derived by having the cases considered jointly, definite standards of allocation have not as yet been formulated and hence there is room for controversy. All cases of children where there is a question of placement away from the natural home are referred to the conference, but the reception of the applications for admission is not centralized, each agency still receiving its own applications and bringing them to the conference. This absence of centralization of applications tends to engender in the representatives of the various agencies proprietary interests in their respective applications. This, added to the prevailing differences in the philosophy of child care and particularly the placement of normal children for prolonged periods, prevents the children's conference from functioning as smoothly at it might.
>
> A positive result of the conference proceedings has been the relative increase of the number of children who have remained in their natural homes.[12]

Though the Children's Bureau of Cleveland has not been the case-work agency for the two Jewish institutions in the city a very close relation has been maintained with the Jewish group who are working in the interest of children. This has been due to the fact that there are representatives on the bureau's general board from the Welfare Association for Jewish Children, the Jewish Orphan Home, and the Orthodox Jewish Orphan Home. Moreover a representative from

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[10] This nursery made a study of families in the district wishing day-nursery care of their children, and it reached the conclusion that additional facilities were needed so as to permit the care of 15 more children on a yearly basis.

[11] Ohio, Gen. Code 1910, sec. 1352–1, added by act of May 9, 1913, Laws of 1913, p. 864.

[12] Slawson, John: "Cleveland." The Jewish Social Service Quarterly [National Conference of Jewish Social Service, New York], Vol. II, No. 4 (June, 1926), p. 306.

the bureau has been on the Jewish Children's Conference, so that there has been a valuable exchange of information on the methods of care for Cleveland children. The medical director of the bureau has worked with both the Jewish institutions in their medical programs.

THE DIVISION OF CHARITIES, STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

In the reorganization of Ohio State boards doing welfare work in 1921 and in the final creation of a department of public welfare the State board of charities became the division of charities within the State department of public welfare.[13] The work of the division is done through three bureaus: Support, institution inspection, and child care. Since the establishment of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland two of these bureaus have cooperated with it in many ways to bring about a new community attitude toward the care of dependent children; but the division's chief service has been rendered in inspecting and licensing children's institutions and acting as guardian for certain dependent children.[14]

THE INSTITUTION-INSPECTION BUREAU

The institution-inspection bureau is responsible for approving all articles of incorporation for new agencies or institutions wishing to care for children and must approve all building plans for public institutions.[15] An annual examination of all child-caring institutions and agencies is required to be made and a certificate issued to such as are satisfactory. Institutions and agencies also must report on children cared for. This has been of great value to the Children's Bureau of Cleveland in studying the children in the institutions in the city. On the other hand, the division of charities has been particularly interested in the results achieved by the bureau in limiting the number of children placed in institutions by carefully investigating all applications for admission and thereby eliminating the necessity of building more institutions.

In 1920 the policy of the division of charities was to curtail the building of any more institutions for normal dependent children. Every effort has been made to convince Ohio that its present institutional system, which represents an investment of $3,000,000, is an expensive and unwieldy machine with excessive overhead cost and that a large proportion of the 25,000 children in Ohio institutions are there unnecessarily, for with adequate family case work a large proportion of these children would have been saved from institutional life.[16]

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[13] Ohio, Gen. Code 1910, secs. 154–1 to 154–58, added by act of Apr. 26, 1921, Laws of 1921, p. 105. (Page's Ann. Gen. Code 1926, secs. 154–1 to 154–58, pp. 49–61.)

[14] Ibid., sec. 1352, p. 286, as amended by act of May 9, 1913, p. 864, and by act of Mar. 27, 1919, Laws of 1919, p. 46; secs. 1352–1 and 1352–3, added by act of May 9, 1913, Laws of 1913, p. 864. (Page's Ann. Gen. Code 1926, secs. 1352, 1352–1, 1352–3, pp. 613, 614.)

[15] Ibid., secs. 1352–2 (added by act of May 9, 1913, Laws of 1913, p. 864), 1353, p. 286. (Page's Ann. Gen. Code 1926, secs. 1352–2, 1353, pp. 614, 617.)

[16] Atkinson, Mary Irene: "Ohio's dependent children." The Survey [New York], Vol. XLIV, No. 15 (July 17, 1920), pp. 514–516.

THE CHILD-CARE BUREAU

The child-care bureau created within the division of charities is responsible for the acceptance of actual guardianship of neglected and dependent children committed by the juvenile court or transferred from a child-caring agency or institution.[17] The aim is to receive such children as can not be handled in their local community or to serve local communities by acting as placing agent for the county children's home until such time as the community is in a position to handle its own work. Special arrangements have been made with several counties for the handling of particular pieces of work, such as the long-time boarding cases, the mentally subnormal children, and the boarding of problem boys and girls. By a coordinated plan between local communities and this State department no dependent or neglected child should fail to receive care and protection.[18] Children transferred to the guardianship of the division of charities have become known as State wards. This policy of the State in taking over the responsibility for the most unfortunate children has been a great factor in relieving the Cleveland Humane Society from the burden of expense for prolonged care of these children. Though the society is responsible for placement and supervision, the State furnishes board and clothing.

Other functions of the child-care bureau of the division of charities are: (1) Acting as "next friend" to a child sought to be adopted upon the request of any probate court and filing the proper papers and reports in such cases; (2) receiving crippled children in order to provide suitable medical and surgical care and treatment; (3) investigating special schooling cases with a view to granting certificates permitting children to work in accordance with the child labor law; (4) rendering service to local agencies or juvenile courts in the solution of special or problem children's cases (all cases of children suffering neglect or dependency reported to the division of charities are investigated, and if there is no local child-caring agency that can handle the case the division assumes this responsibility); (5) visiting children for agencies outside the State.[19]

In 1921 a law was passed which provided for the investigation of all adoptive homes by a representative of the division of charities if requested by the court and for the filing of a report in court.[20] In Cleveland and Cuyahoga County the Children's Bureau of Cleveland and the Cleveland Humane Society have acted as the agents of the State in this work.

In counties where there is little or no provision for mothers' pensions a plan has been worked out by which the division of charities through State commitments boards the children with their own mothers, the county paying the mothers for their care. This has been a great aid in keeping families together.

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[17] Ohio, Gen. Code 1910, sec. 1352–3, added by act of May 9, 1913, Laws of 1913, p. 864; sec. 1841–1, added by act of Apr. 22, 1913, Laws of 1913, p. 175. (Page's Ann. Gen. Code 1926, secs. 1352–3, 1841–1, pp. 614, 937.)

[18] Fourth Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1925, p. 76. [Columbus, 1925.]

[19] Third Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1924, pp. 64–65. [Columbus, 1924.]

[20] Ohio, Gen. Code 1910, sec. 8024–1, added by act of May 5, 1921, Laws of 1921, p. 177. (Page's Ann. Gen. Code 1926, sec. 8024–1, p. 2948.)

SUMMARY

Any form of public welfare that strengthens the integrity of the family operates to the benefit of the children of the family and reduces the likelihood of their becoming charges upon outside individuals and organizations.

As a form of public welfare the Children's Bureau of Cleveland has become an effective organization for strengthening the family ties of those who are seeking community care of their children and has decreased the number of children accepted for care outside their own homes. How far-reaching and fundamental the ultimate results of work in the preservation of the home ties of dependent children may be can not yet be determined, but there can be no question of the opportunity which such a central clearing bureau affords a community to search out methodically the underlying causes of child dependency and to work consistently toward their eradication.

The primary function of the central clearing bureau is investigation of applications for admission of children to institutions, and through this investigation a definite insight into family conditions causing dependency is gained. From this it follows that the clearing bureau necessarily has two other distinct functions: Preservation of the home ties through supervision and follow-up, and interpretation of social phenomena with a view to enlarging the knowledge of maladjustments that affect the lives of children and to devising methods for improvement.

The Children's Bureau of Cleveland has carried on the investigation of applications and the follow-up work with families with unusual success, but up to the present time no organized effort has been made to cover the field of interpretation of the great volume of social data being collected as a result of the careful case work done on applications. It is important that such a bureau should have a research worker, all of whose time might be given to the analysis of social and economic conditions which are disrupting family life; and doubtless this phase of the work will be developed in the not distant future. Already the children's bureau and other child-welfare agencies of Cleveland are aware of the outstanding forces destroying children's homes and are formulating policies as to how best to meet the needs of children with whom these forces have played such havoc, but much more research must be done to know the subtler forces causing dependency. The extensive knowledge of causes of dependency has been made possible only by the uniform and thorough investigation of applications for the admission of children to institutions made by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland and of applications for foster-home care of children made by the Cleveland Humane Society.

The data indicate that illness of father or mother, chiefly of mother, was the first great cause of dependency of children in

Cleveland; that divorce, separation, and desertion constituted the second greatest cause; and that death of one or both parents, but usually death of the mother, was the third.

From one point of view the increase in the number of children in need of community care due to illness of the mother is one of the most hopeful indications of the new sense of responsibility that is awakening in the community. The influence that health centers and hospital clinics have had in promoting better health for mothers and babies is shown in the greater demand for hospital care during illness, particularly during confinement. With the completion of a new maternity hospital in connection with Western Reserve University in Cleveland, it is expected that the need for temporary institutional care of children whose mothers are confined in the hospital rather than at home will be increased. Better health facilities have had a direct influence on the population of children's institutions and agencies—temporary care of children during illness of mother becoming more extensive.

Separation, divorce, and desertion are the most baffling of all causes of dependency. It is hardly possible to speak of them as causes, since they are in reality symptoms of other conditions such as unemployment, ill health, mental defect, and difficult personality traits that are destroying the structure of the home. No other problem related to the dependency of children is so great a tax on the financial resources and on the skill of the staffs of social-welfare agencies as that of divorce, separation, and desertion.[1] The difficulties in families broken by divorce or desertion are so complex that the work of medical and social agencies of a community must be well coordinated in order to salvage as many of these wrecked families as possible. This coordination of the agencies in Cleveland has been one of the distinct services of the children's bureau.

Death, usually of one parent but not often of both, as a cause of dependency, though still a serious problem in planning for the care of children, is no longer so difficult to meet as formerly. The emphasis on better health, its promotion by local health authorities through clinics and by national organizations through educational propaganda, and the provision for aid to children in their own homes have accomplished much in the preservation of family ties. Cleveland unfortunately has not had a sufficient appropriation for the mothers' pensions department of the juvenile court to make it a real asset in the care of Cleveland families where the death or incapacity of the father has occurred. The result has been that the greatest number of these families have been carried by the Cleveland Associated Charities, which receives its support from the public at large through subscription to the Community Fund. The appropriation of an adequate amount of money to carry on the work of the mothers' pensions department would release the funds now used by the associated charities for care of widowed families, and then these funds might be used for the development of foster-home care of children

[1] A recent questionnaire sent to social agencies of Cleveland indicates that those agencies under the Community Fund spent, excluding the cost of service and overhead, more than $200,000 a year, or $547 a day, for the support of the dependents of deserters and nonsupporters. The Cleveland Humane Society alone spent $17,000 in 1925 for the care of these dependents (Annual Bulletin, Cleveland Humane Society [Cleveland], Vol. XIV, No. 1 (May, 1926), p. 14).

through the Cleveland Humane Society, which has been hampered greatly through lack of funds. No entirely satisfactory method of providing for the widowers' families without placing the children away from their fathers has been evolved, but much attention is now being given to this problem.

A central clearing bureau such as is represented by the Children's Bureau of Cleveland performs a fourfold service:

1. It has a responsibility to institutions. Through the assignment to each institution of a worker who becomes part of the institutional staff it provides all institutions, however small, with facilities for making careful investigation of all applications for admission. Such provision of workers who have been trained in modern case-work methods makes it possible to give the most careful consideration to the problems of admission peculiar to the institution. The investigation of applications has not involved the institution's right as to the final decision on admission of children. Recommendations have been made as to the care needed after making the investigation, but the decision in all cases has rested entirely with the superintendent and board of the institutions. Recommendations by the bureau have not always been followed by the institution, and the admission of children has been allowed when it did not seem for their best interests; but there has never been any coercion or attempt to use the bureau for centralization of decisions as to admissions. The consistent policy has been to develop case committees in each institution and through these committees to raise the standards for admissions by showing what other possibilities there are within the community for care of children.

The existence of a central bureau permits the assignment of work in such a way that service rendered to the institutions as a whole can be developed evenly and carried on continuously. The central-bureau method enables the institutions as a group and the community to have better-trained social workers. Training courses can be developed for preparing new workers, and more skilled supervision can be given to individual case workers. Still another great psychological advantage accrues to the individual workers under the central-bureau system in that they have a greater stimulus toward endeavor because of the mutual encouragement and cooperation that result from united effort. They do not feel that they are standing alone, overwhelmed and unaided among manifold problems.

2. It has a responsibility to the individual child. The Children's Bureau of Cleveland has raised the standards of care for dependent children as a whole. This has been particularly demonstrated in the medical and dental attention which has been given to each child through the bureau's clinic. This feature of the bureau has been one of the most striking developments of the central-bureau plan. Through this program for determining the medical needs of individual children a clinical program for meeting the nutritional needs of children, the correction of defects, and other special problems has developed. This not only has benefited the children concerned but has been used as a means of improving the institutions' and agencies' medical facilities for all children under their care. The bureau also has stressed the importance of better facilities for mental examinations, and through the cooperation of one institution it has pro-

vided the means of examination for children with complex mental difficulties.

3. It has a responsibility to the family. The Children's Bureau of Cleveland has been a great factor in the preservation of family ties through the follow-up and supervisory work. Keeping alive the interest of parents and relatives in rebuilding the home for the child's return has been a task carried on by the bureau with great perseverance.

4. It has a responsibility to the community. As a central planning bureau it has been largely responsible for the coordination of work of all agencies concerned with the welfare of children. It has had an opportunity through its general board of representatives from both institutions and child-caring agencies to correlate the work of all so that each agency and institution is aware of its most important contribution toward solving the whole problem of child dependency. It also has been able to accomplish an even development of case-work service to institutions, and because of its extensive knowledge it is able to present the financial needs of case work so that the work for children is, as a whole, more adequately financed. Since it does not have to depend for its support on contributions from the institutions which it is serving, it does not run the risk of failure that has faced other central bureaus when they endeavored to collect from institutions for a service that in fact often was inadequate because the central bureau had not a staff large enough to carry on the work expected of it. Through the careful investigation of applications for admission of children to institutions the bureau has saved the community the financial support of many children whose parents or relatives have been made to carry as large a part as possible of their financial responsibility.

The development of the Children's Bureau of Cleveland has been so rapid that some phases of the work as yet have not been worked out to the bureau's satisfaction. Though the staff has grown prodigiously there are still demands which the bureau can not meet because the staff is inadequate, and workers are asked to carry what seems to be too great a case load. It is not difficult to understand how the decision by a group of people interested in child welfare to have case work applied to the admission of all children to institutions has taxed the resources of the community to supply the workers needed to carry out this monumental plan, but through the cooperation of the local school of social work in organizing training classes this handicap is being removed.

There is also some question in regard to the soundness of the present policy adopted by the child-welfare group of Cleveland as to the children accepted for institutional care and those referred for foster-home care. It is doubtful whether placing in institutions for a period of training all children over 3 years of age who must be cared for away from their own families for the first time is the best plan. Some children never do well in an institution, and others thrive on an institutional régime; and consideration must be given to the personality and needs of each child. This fact has not been overlooked by the bureau in its recommendation for the care of children, and there have been many exceptions in carrying out its policy. Considering the facts that most of the institutions for which

the central bureau was the case-work agent were not in the beginning aware of the interrelation of institutions and other child-caring agencies of the community and that the facilities for foster-home care in Cleveland are limited, this was perhaps the best policy that could be formulated at the time. With the better understanding of community problems that the institutions have acquired through the guidance of the bureau over the past five years and with the more adequate provision for the foster-home care of children this policy will be changed. It seemed to meet the conditions in Cleveland at the time the bureau was started, and as such it is not to be discredited; but in the establishment of such a central bureau in other communities the decision as to which children should be placed in institutions and which in foster homes must depend on local conditions and above all upon consideration of the individual needs of each child.

The Children's Bureau of Cleveland is something of a pioneer in the field of centralized bureaus for the investigation of applications for admissions to institutions, and therefore its work can not be measured by any formulated standards. It is now in the process of making standards for this type of children's work, and at this time its accomplishments must be judged by the results it has obtained over the period of its five years of existence:

1. It has relieved the congestion of the institutions and made room for those children most in need of institutional care.
2. It has raised the standard of care provided for the individual child.
3. It has decreased the length of time that children remain in institutions.
4. It has been the inspiration for coordination of the work of child-welfare agencies in Cleveland.
5. It has saved the community the financial support of many children by compelling parents to pay what they can.
6. It has saved the community the expense of building new institutions by demonstrating that they were not needed.
7. It has stimulated more than the average increase in child placing and boarding-home care so that an increasingly larger proportion of children may have normal home life.
8. It has maintained a high standard of case work and provided each institution with adequate social service.
9. There has been attained among all religious groups a fine feeling that has made possible the application of certain principles concerning religious placements, in consequence of which all groups—Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish—have felt that they were treated with fairness and consideration.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A.—CONSTITUTION OF THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU OF CLEVELAND

(Approved March 9, 1926)

ARTICLE I. *Name.*—The name of this organization shall be the Children's Bureau of Cleveland, Ohio.

ART. II. *Purpose.*—The purpose of the children's bureau shall be to promote mutual cooperation and coordination among the children's institutions and agencies in Greater Cleveland; to study any particular problems affecting children's work; to develop standards of child care; to perform such common services for the children's field as may be deemed advantageous and necessary; to do all other things necessary and incidental to the proper conduct of the affairs of the bureau and its members.

ART. III. *Membership.*—The governing body of the organization shall be a general board consisting of two representatives, preferably one executive and one board member, from each of the children's agencies and institutions in Greater Cleveland; two representatives of each of the public agencies dealing with children; and any other persons interested in child welfare who are approved by the executive committee but not representatives of agencies.

ART. IV. *Officers.*—The officers of the children's bureau shall consist of a chairman, a first and second vice chairman, an executive secretary, and a treasurer, elected annually by the executive committee at the first meeting following the annual meeting. The duties of each officer shall be those usually pertaining to that office. The executive secretary shall be appointed by the executive committee with the approval of the Welfare Federation. He shall be the chief executive officer and responsible for the management of affairs under the supervision of the executive committee.

ART. V. *The executive committee.*—The executive committee shall consist of 18 members elected for a term of three years by the general board at the annual meeting, one-third being elected annually. The executive committee shall have control of all activities of the organization and shall direct the carrying out of the general policies, subject to the approval of the general board.

Some time prior to the regular annual meeting the general board shall elect a nominating committee of five, who shall present to the annual meeting nominations for the executive committee for the ensuing year.

ART. VI. *Committees.*—Such committees as the executive committee deems necessary may be appointed in order that the organization may properly function.

ART. VII. *Amendment.*—Amendments may be made to the constitution by two-thirds of the members present at a regular or special meeting upon 10 days' written notice to each member specifying the nature of the proposed amendment.

APPENDIX B.—SCHEDULE AND INSTRUCTIONS USED IN THE STUDY

CLEVELAND CENTRALIZED INVESTIGATION OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN—FAMILY SCHEDULE

1. Record No_____ 2. Date of application_____ 3. Cath. Prot_____ 4. Schedule No_____
5. Composition of family at application: 6. Disposition of child:

(a) Member	(b) Leg.	(c) Sex	(d) Date of birth Y	M	D	(e) Age	Parents (f) Marital status	(g) Whereabouts	(h) Whereabouts of child	(a) Type of disposition	(b) Support by parents
F											
M											
(1)											
(2)											
(3)											
(4)											
(5)											
(6)											

*Stepchild of F_____ △Stepchild of M_____ ○Adopted child of_____ 7. Date of Marriage of F&M: ___Y ___M ___D___

8. Other members of household: (a) Mar. ch._____ (b) Other Rel._____ (c) B&L_____
9. Fa.: WBONF Country of birth_____ Yrs. U. S._____ 10. Mo.: WBONF Country of birth_____ Yrs. U. S._____
11. Source of appl.: Both par.____ Fa.____ Mo.____ Rel.____ Friends____ Court (spec.)_____ Other (spec.)_____
12. Aid requested:_____ 13. Reason aid requested:_____
14. Known to other agencies: Y N
(a) Asso. Char. Y N_____ (d) Mo. Pen. Dept. Y N_____ (h) Inst. (spec.) Y N_____
(b) Cath. Char. Y N_____ (e) Humane Soc. Y N_____ (i) Hosp. (spec.) Y N_____
(c) Am. Red Cross Y N_____ (f) Juv. Ct. Y N_____ (j) Clinic (spec.) Y N_____
(g) Prob. & Dom. Rel. Y N_____ (k) Other (spec.) Y N_____
15. Father: Occupation and earnings_____
16. Mother: Gainful empl.—kinds and earnings_____
17. Children: Occu. and wages (spec. no.)_____
18. Other income: Sources and amounts_____ 19. Approx. Mo. Total_____
20. Summary of family conditions:_____
21. Problems found by investigator (spec. person except for Div., Sep., Inad. Inc.):
(a) Death_____ (d) Des._____ (g) Imprison._____ (j) Negl. or cr._____ (m) Incor._____
(b) Div._____ (e) Child illeg._____ (h) Sex. im._____ (k) Juv. del._____ (n) Phys. dis. (spec.)_____
(c) Sep._____ (f) Inad. inc._____ (i) Intemp._____ (l) Problem ch._____ (o) Ment. dis. (spec.)_____
(p) Other (spec.)_____

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study is to discover what are the conditions in a community that force children out of their own homes into care of institutions or child-caring agencies and what a well-organized community can do to combat these conditions. Information is to be secured covering the following points:

A. Home conditions of children for whom application for care is made. Economic conditions, family standards, environment.
B. Previous work of social agencies with these families.
C. Relation of child's own family to application and disposition.
D. Decision as to removal from own home in relation to findings on family conditions.
E. What was done with children not removed.
F. Cooperation of institutions and community agencies.

The study will be based entirely on records of the Cleveland Children's Bureau (according to inclusion defined under "Instructions"), with no agency or family follow-up inquiry.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR STATISTICAL CARD

Cases to be included.

This study is to cover, with certain exceptions (see "Cases not to be included"), new applications to the children's bureau during the two years April 1, 1922, through March 31, 1923, and April 1, 1924, through March 31, 1925, for the care of children away from their own homes (in institutions or foster homes). By "new" application it is meant that no previous application has ever been made to the children's bureau for the care of the children.

These new applications will include those made up into case records and worked on by the children's bureau as well as those applications referred without investigation to another agency and those dropped after investigation without further action.

Cases not to be included.

Applications for care of children already in institutions for dependent children, in hospitals, or special institutions for long-time care, such as a hospital for crippled children, or in foster homes under the supervision of a child-placing agency.

Applications made by the Cleveland Humane Society, Associated Charities, and other agencies for the observation of problem children at Children's Aid Society clinic.

Applications for the admission of children to summer camps.

Applications by the probate court for the investigation of children for adoption.

Entering and checking of items on schedules.

A schedule is to be made out by family for each application or case record as above defined.

All items checked or entered on this schedule should pertain to the first application, the investigation following this application, and the first disposition of each child made as a result of this investigation (even though the first dispositions of the several children in a family may not all be made at the same time). If an application is made to the bureau and the case closed so far as further action is concerned, or referred to another agency and later a reapplication is made, this second application and the disposition following it should not be considered in this study.

Check marks should be made directly to the right of each item.

If information regarding any item is not available enter N. R.—i. e., not reported.

1. *Record No.*—This means number of family-case record. For applications treated as "Information only" enter I. O. before number.

2. *Date of application.*—The date on which the case first became known to the bureau. (In the Cleveland Children's Bureau records this is found under "Date" in the upper right-hand corner of the face sheet and is also the date of the initial entry on the running record.) Enter year, month, day.

3. *Cath. Prot.*—Check family religion. Check as Protestant families not definitely affiliated with the Protestant church but not definitely affiliated

with the Catholic or Hebrew. The purpose of this check is to indicate whether the case would be assigned to a Catholic or Protestant institution or agency.

4. *Schedule No.*—This means statistical-division number and will be entered in Washington office. Do not make entries here.

5. *Composition of family at application.*—This heading applies to the tabular items below, *a* to *h*.

a. Member: Enter all members of the family group who would normally live together (excluding married children—see instruction for item 8). Enter names of all children lightly in pencil. This is simply as an aid in checking schedules, so the names may be abbreviated; this entry will be erased when the schedules have been completed.

When referring to children elsewhere on the schedule numbers will be used; for instance—juv. court (3) stealing; incorrigibility (5). If any of the children are stepchildren or adopted children of father or mother indicate by placing to the left of the numbers of these children * *for stepchild of F*, Δ *for stepchild of M*, and ○ *for adopted child of F or M*, indicating adoptive parent by writing either F or M, or F and M after "of" in note "○ adopted child of."

Entries for items date of birth, status of parents, occupation, race, nationality, time in United States, etc. will always be made for one parent even though dead, divorced, or for some other reason outside the family group, bracketing the father or mother or both if absent from the family group. If the remaining parent whose husband or wife is dead or divorced has remarried (this being the parent with whom one or more of the children concerned in the application are living) consider the step-parent as real parent, entering items accordingly. In step-parental families the marital status and whereabouts of the child's own parents will be entered opposite the number of the child. (This will indicate the combination of groups of children.)

This may be clearer if presented in outline form:

The family group is the father, mother, and children. In many cases this will represent the family group living together. Exceptions will be:

(*a*) *One parent dead, divorced, deserted, and children living with remaining parent who is not remarried.* Enter items for both own parents, the entries under "Marital status" and "Whereabouts" of parents accounting for missing parent. Put brackets around missing parent.

(*b*) *One of own parents dead or divorced, other parent remarried and has the children.* Enter items for F or M referring to step-parent, ignoring the parent whose place he has taken.

(*c*) *Parents separated or not living together (not legally divorced), each having some of the children.* Enter items for each of parents, the entries under "Whereabouts of children" showing with which parent they are. Bracket parent not considered as living in the home.

(*d*) *Parents divorced, each having some of children.* Consider as two separate family groups, making a schedule only for the group concerned in the application. (If both groups of children are involved, two schedules must be made.) Bracket missing parent except where step-parent has taken his place, in which case make entries for step-parent.

(*e*) Definition of inclusion states that the children are considered for removal from their own homes, but the *study will include some children living with grandparents or other relatives or in boarding homes where they have been placed by parents.* (Children already in the cutsody of agencies or institutions are excluded.) For children living with relatives or other families as above indicated entries will apply to own parents, both of whom will be bracketed. The entries under "Whereabouts of child" will show with whom they are living.

(*f*) *Children in adoptive homes.* Items F and M will apply to adoptive parents, ignoring own parents.

b. Leg.: Means "legitimacy." It will be assumed child is of legitimate birth unless "ill." is entered opposite child's number.

c. Sex: Enter *b* for boy, *g* for girl.

d. Date of birth: Secure specific date whenever possible. Enter year, month, day. If date of birth can not be secured, enter in date-of-birth column best approximation of age at date of application.

e. Age: This will be edited in Washington office. Do not make entries in this column.

f. Marital status (of parents): The purpose of this item is to show the relation of F and M to each other at the time of application. The following list should be kept in mind as possible entries opposite F and M:

Married: Enter this for F and M married to each other and not divorced, separated, deserted, or widowed.

Unmarried: Enter this for F and M not married to each other.

Divorced: Enter this for F and M legally divorced from each other.

Separated: Enter this for F and M when they are not living together for reasons other than desertion, divorce, or absence of one or the other in a hospital or correctional institution.

Widowed: Enter this for the parent whose husband (F) or wife (M) has died, and enter a dash (—) for the parent who has died.

Deserting: Enter this for the parent deserting the family, and enter a dash (—) for the parent who has been deserted by husband (F) or wife (M).

Child a foundling: Enter for both parents if child was abandoned in infancy and nothing is known about parents.

Other: Enter any other marital status of F or M.

When F or M applies to step-parents of some of children, account for marital status of own parents in this column opposite the numbers of the children.

g. Whereabouts (of parents): Applies to time of application. Keep in mind the following list as possible entries opposite F and M:

Home: Enter this if parent is living in the home with the family group (as described under "Member" in "Composition of family at time of application").

Dead.

Hospital: Enter hospital, specify kind, i. e., insane, t. b., infirmary, etc., for parent absent from home because of confinement in such hospital.

Correctional institution: Enter corr. inst., specifying kind. i. e., jail, reformatory, workhouse, penitentiary, etc. for parent outside of home because of commitment to such institution.

Other: specify whereabouts of parents, as boarding, domestic service, etc. when above items do not apply.

When F or M applies to step-parent of some of children account for whereabouts of own parent in this column opposite the numbers of the children.

h. Whereabouts of child: Enter for each child, keeping in mind the following list of possible entries:

Home: Enter for child living in the home with the family group (as described under "Member" in "Composition of family at time of application").

With father: Enter this for child living with father who is not in the home; may be in father's own home, in a boarding home, or elsewhere with the father.

With mother: Enter this for child living with mother who is not in the home; may be in mother's own home, place of employment, or elsewhere in her custody.

With relatives: Other than parents.

Other home (specify): Any private home in which a child is living away from his parents or step-parents. Write, after "other home," adoptive home, friends, boarding home, or free home (specify if placement was made by an agency).

Institution (specify): Enter name of institution, specifying kind for dependent, delinquent, feeble-minded, deaf, blind, crippled, etc.

Hospital (specify): Enter name of hospital, specify kind, i. e., t. b., crippled, etc.

Working away from home: Enter this for older unmarried children living and working away from home.

6. Disposition of child (refers to first disposition).

a. Type of disposition:

Placing agency: Enter name of agency to which, after investigation, child was referred for foster-home care (board, wage, free, or adoptive).

Family agency: Enter name of agency to which after investigation whole family was referred for care.

Investigation, no action: This item to be entered when after investigation of the application no action seems warranted either by the children's bureau or any other agency.

No investigation; placing agency: Enter name of agency to which without investigation child was referred for foster-home care (board, wage, free, or adoptive).

No investigation; family agency: Enter name of agency to which without investigation whole family was referred for care.

No investigation; no action: Enter this item when application does not seem to warrant either investigation or action by children's bureau or other agency.

Institution: Enter name of institution to which child was referred for care.

Placed with relatives: Relatives other than parents.

Returned to home: Enter this item when child has been living outside of home with other parent, with relatives, in institution, in boarding home, or elsewhere outside family group.

Supervision without removal: This item to be entered when the plan for the child was not to remove him from his present whereabouts but to retain supervision for a period. This will apply chiefly to children in families where application was made for the admission of all the children in the family to an institution but when only part were admitted and the rest left in the home under supervision.

No action: Enter this item for children not living in the home and with whom no contact was made.

Disposition pending: Enter this item when case is still in process of investigation and disposition has not yet been made.

Other (specify) : Enter briefly any other disposition of child.

b. Support by parents: Indicate extent to which parents are assuming responsibility for support outside of own home by entering full, partial, none, or N. R.

7. *Date of marriage of F and M:* Enter year, month, and day.

8. *Other members of household:*

Married children: Indicate whether married sons or daughters and their families are living in the household. Specify number of such sons and daughters and their children.

Other relatives: Indicate number and relationship of relatives other than sons or daughters living in the household.

Boarders and lodgers: Indicate number and sex.

9. *Father* (refers to F).

10. *Mother* (refers to M).

Race: Check W for white, B for black or negro (negro should include all negroes whether of pure or mixed blood). O for other, N for native born, F. for foreign born. Specify if Jewish, Polish, Lithuanian, etc.

Country of birth: Enter country of birth and specify if Jewish, Polish, Lithuanian, etc.

Yrs. in U. S.: Indicate time in the United States at time of first application by years. If father or mother was dead at time of application enter time in United States up to date of death.

11. *Source of application:* Refers to persons, agency, or institution making the application.

Both parents (F and M) : To be checked when both parents are actively concerned in the application.

Father (F) : To be used when father only is actively concerned in the application.

Mother (M) : To be used when mother only is actively concerned in the application.

Relatives: Other than parents.

Friends: Private individuals other than relatives.

Court: Name court referring directly to children's bureau.

Other: Applications from all other sources. Specify by writing name of institution, agency, etc. (If own parent who has been replaced by F or M makes application specify here.)

12. *Aid requested.*—Enter briefly type of aid requested by the person making the application, as "temporary institutional care of (1) and (2)," "boarding-home care," etc.

13. *Reason aid requested.*—Enter reason given by person making application, as "illness of mother," "death of father," etc.

14. *Known to other agencies.*—Check Y (yes) or N (no) according to whether or not family was known to social agencies at any time prior to first application especially as shown by the Social Service Clearing House

report. Check Y or N for each agency according to whether or not family was known to it and specify briefly the nature of each agency's contact with the family; for instance, associated charities, five years, family relief; juvenile court 1/10/15 (4) stealing.

15. *Father; occupation and earnings.*—Enter briefly the nature of father's (F) occupation at the time of application. Be as specific as information on record will permit. Avoid general terms such as "laborer." If man is a laborer, write "laborer in street department" or "laborer in steel mill," etc.; if a conductor, "conductor on street car," "conductor on railroad," etc. Enter also the approximate amount earned, i. e., amount per week or month. Enter here if F is not working, works irregularly, or enter any other pertinent fact regarding work habits.

16. *Mother; gainful employment, kinds and earnings.*—Enter only information regarding gainful employment, i. e., other than household duties. Indicate whether in or out of home as "Washing at home," "Canvassing out of home." Enter amount earned per day, per week, etc., from each kind of gainful employment if M engages in more than one.

17. *Children; occupation and wages* (specify number).—Enter occupation and wages per day, per week, etc., of unmarried working children living at home, specifying children by entering numbers given under "member."

18. *Other income; sources and amounts.*—Contributions from unmarried children living and working away from home, relatives, social agencies, etc.; amount paid for board by married children, other relatives, and boarders living with the family; and amount received for rental of property or part of house.

19. *Approximate monthly total.*—Total monthly income received by family from all sources specified under 15, 16, 17, and 18.

20. *Summary of family conditions.*—State briefly any unusual conditions existing in the family bearing upon the application for child's care.

21. *Problems found by investigator.*—Check the problem or problems found to be existing as a result of the investigation following the first application and preliminary to the first disposition. Only those problems are to be checked that have a direct bearing upon the removal of the child from his present whereabouts or his admission to an institution.

Opposite all items except divorce, separation, and inadequate income, specify person to whom item applies, indicating each child by number and parents by F and M; for instance, death: M, mental disability—epilepsy (3).

a. Death: Check this item when the death of one or both parents is one of the reasons for the application. Check only for other deaths when they have a direct bearing on the application, as for instance the death of a grandmother or older sister who has been helping to care for the children.

b. Divorce: Check this item where the fact of the parent's divorce is a direct factor in the application; that is, where the divorce results in the children's lacking home care.

c. Separation: Check this item where the fact of the parents living apart for reasons other than divorce, desertion, or absence of one or the other in a hospital or correctional institution is a direct factor in the application.

d. Desertion: Check this item if the desertion of one or both parents has a direct bearing upon the application.

e. Child illegitimate: Check this item only when the fact that a child was born out of wedlock has a direct bearing upon the application.

f. Inadequate income: Check this item when the total income does not meet family budget. This item will usually be checked in connection with some other item except when it is the sole problem and the disposition is to a family agency for relief.

g. Imprisonment: Check this item only when the absence of one or both parents in a correctional or penal institution has a direct bearing upon the application.

h. Sexual immorality: This applies to the conduct of the parents and should be checked not only when proved but also when the implication of such conduct is serious enough to cause consideration of the removal of the children.

i. Intemperance: Check this item when the use of liquor by either or both parents seriously interferes with the functioning of the home.

j. Neglect or cruelty: Check this item when there is willful omission or incapacity other than lack of income to provide food, clothing, shelter, medical attention, or proper guardianship for children or when there is physical abuse

of children by parents or person having care of children in home. Indicate the parent or person who is cruel or neglectful.

k. Juvenile delinquency: Check this item when a child's behavior is such as to bring him before the juvenile court at time of application.

l. Problem child: Check this item when a child's behavior presents such a problem as to necessitate study of him at Children's Aid Society clinic.

m. Incorrigibility: Check this item when parental discipline is inadequate but when a child's behavior is not such as necessitates checking "juvenile delinquency" or "problem child."

n. Physical disability: Enter nature of physical disability after "specify," using the following classifications:

Deaf.	Other permanent handicap.	Confinement.
Blind.	Venereal disease.	Abortion.
Crippled.	Tuberculosis.	Other.

Only such physical disabilities are to be included as have a direct bearing upon the application.

o. Mental disability: Enter nature of mental disability after "specify," using the following classifications:

Epilepsy.	Insanity.	Condition undiagnosed.
Feeble-mindedness.	Psychoneurosis.	

Only such mental disabilities are to be included as have a direct bearing upon application.

p. Other: Enter here any other problems which have a direct bearing upon the application.

The agent in charge of the study will settle methods of handling complications not dealt with here, making note of decisions so that interpretation will be uniform.

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